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NATIONAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER 29, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 22

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■ FEATURE

Bush's Well-Mapped Road to Victory

Confronting bad news almost daily, a ferocious attack by a united Left, and a hostile press corps, Bush won a resounding victory. His campaign was strategically brilliant and technically proficient, correctly assessing the nature of the electorate and election from the beginning and acting on its knowledge with great tactical verve. *By Richard Lowry*

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letters to the editor

HORSE AND CARRIAGE

I strongly agree with the editors that unelected judges should not presume to "discover" that gay marriage has been constitutionally mandated ("The Week," Oct. 25). Judicial activism, however, cannot be contained by giving activist judges still more vaguely worded constitutional text to interpret and embroider. The Federal Marriage Amendment by its terms transports not just gay marriage but all marriage into the federal judicial sphere—bypassing both state legislatures and Congress. It is an open invitation to judge-made law.

By way of example: The exceptionally sparse new constitutional definition of marriage (which, in the case of conflict with state law, overrides such law, under the Constitution's Supremacy Clause) contains none of the explicit limitations imposed by states on marrying close relatives or several people at once. Undoubtedly these limits were meant to be implicit in the new constitutional definition of marriage, but as a legal matter we are left only with the hope that future judges would agree with the majority of Americans on a "common sense" interpretation.

What is certain is that the federal courts would spend decades defining marriage and its "legal incidents"—and that this would be just the first-order effect. Armed with an ever-growing body of case law discovering synergies from the combination of the FMA with other constitutional provisions such as the Fourteenth Amendment, the federal courts could rewrite the rules governing all family-law questions, including adoption, alimony, child custody, children's rights, divorce, estate planning, insurance, and virtually anything else having to do with marriage. If Americans didn't like the results, their legislators wouldn't be much help, because the new rules would be constitutional law.

Judicial activism is a serious problem. The serious remedy is detailed and carefully written statutes, not the wholesale transfer of vast new interpretive powers to judges.

Rep. Chris Cox
Newport Beach, Calif.

THE EDITORS REPLY: We repeat our objection to the congressman's line of argument. If the federal courts are sufficiently willful to want to remake the law of marriage, they can do so with the constitutional materials already at hand. The Federal Marriage Amendment will restrict, not widen, their discretion. Moreover, Congressman Cox does not explain how statutes can stop the courts from imposing same-sex marriage. If he thinks he can devise a better-worded constitutional amendment that would accomplish that end, we invite him to introduce it.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages letters to the editor. Letters should be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com or by fax to (212) 849-2835 or by mail to Letters Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Please include your full name, address, and daytime phone number. Letters will be edited for space and clarity.

MYSTIC MADONNA

I must object to your reference to Kabbala as being on the "exotic fringes of religious inquiry . . . colorful and New Agey" ("The Week," Oct. 11). The study of Kabbala and its major written work, the *Zohar*, is serious stuff. Many rabbis feel that only married individuals, over the age of 40, and well schooled in the Torah and Talmud, should undertake it. Madonna's efforts are thus akin to trying to understand the roots, trunk, branches, and leaves of a tree by dropping in at the top by helicopter.

Jack Kay
Framingham, Mass.

CORRECTION

In the book review "Taming the Beast" (Oct. 11), John Hood wrote that Donald Trump "stormed out of a John Stossel interview." Mr. Trump actually stormed out after the interview was over; we apologize for the error.

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by the parent company of Kraft Foods, Philip Morris International and Philip Morris USA

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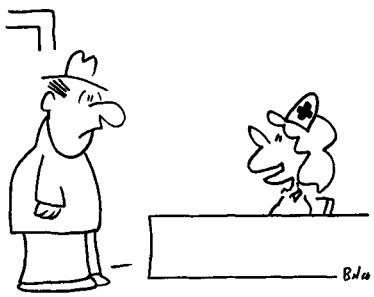

"No appointments are available for the next three months, but you can always call in to the doctor's talk show."

■ President **Bush** defeats Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.): 286 electoral votes to 252. . . . Wins more than 58 million total votes, breaking previous record of 54.5 million set by **Ronald Reagan** in 1984. . . . Becomes first presidential candidate to win majority of popular vote since 1988. . . . Improves his level of support over 2000 in 45 states, including Massachusetts. . . . Republicans gain 4 seats in Senate and at least 4 seats in House. . . . Bush in post-election press conference: "When you win, there is a feeling that the people have spoken and embraced your point of view." . . . "I earned capital in the campaign—political capital—and now I intend to spend it." . . . Bush on Social Security reform: "There are going to be costs. But the cost of doing nothing . . . is much greater than the cost of reforming the system today." . . . Bush, on ABC: "I don't think we should deny people rights to a civil union, a legal arrangement, if that's what a state chooses to do." . . . Novelist **Tom Wolfe** on Bush, in *Guardian*: "I think support for Bush is about not wanting to be led by East Coast pretensions. It is about not wanting to be led by people who are forever trying to force their twisted sense of morality onto us, which is a non- morality. That is constantly done, and there is real resentment."

■ Kerry concedes: "In an American election, there are no losers, because whether or not our candidates are successful, the next morning we all wake up as Americans. And that—that is the greatest privilege and the most remarkable good fortune that can come to us on earth." . . . Sen. **John Edwards** (D., N.C.), moments before Kerry's concession: "This fight has just begun! . . . The battle rages on!" . . . **Cameron Kerry** on his brother's future, in *New York Times*: "He's certainly not going to just walk away and lick his wounds." . . . Kerry's deputy campaign manager **Steve Elmendorf**: "A lot of younger people will decide this is not a particularly good time to be a Democrat in Washington and will probably leave and try to work elsewhere."

■ Gov. **Ed Rendell** (D., Pa.) on why Kerry lost, on CNN: "I think he was running against an incumbent president in the middle of a war who had successfully defended this country for three years from another terrorist attack. And I think that was just too heavy a burden." . . . Rep. **Barney Frank** (D., Mass.), in *New York Sun*: "The mayor of San Francisco did us a lot more harm than good by announcing he was going to perform [gay] marriages even without the sanction of the courts." . . . Sen.-elect **Barack Obama** (D., Ill.), in *Chicago Sun-Times*: "I am not running for president in 2008. I mean, come on, guys. The only reason I'm being definitive is because until I'm definitive you will keep asking me this question, but it's a silly question." . . . **Ralph Nader**'s share of presidential vote falls to less than 400,000 votes, about one-sixth of what it was in 2000.

■ Former White House counsel **C. Boyden Gray**, on *Hardball*: "Given the mandate, given the increase in the Senate, given the defeat of **Daschle**—where judicial obstructionism, frustrating the president's nominees was an issue, and helped defeat him—I think the president has every reason to think he can continue to nominate people of the kind he has nominated the last four years." . . . Sen. **Lindsey Graham** (R., S.C.), in *Washington Post*: "My concern is a lot of Republicans will not boldly embrace the president's plan for tax reform and Social Security. . . . We have six months to give the president a legacy he will be proud of."

■ **Evan Thomas** of *Newsweek*, on *Hardball*: "I just know a lot of people in the media, and most of them don't like Bush and they do like Kerry. . . . Of course they deny it. And then there are a lot of excellent journalists, who do try. But, inevitably, some of this is going to creep in. And where it shows, I think, is how out of touch mainstream media is with most of America. There is a red-blue divide. And most of the media types live in the blue part. They live right here. And they went to fancy schools and they dress a certain way, look a certain way. And they're not terrifically in touch with the rest of us."

■ McLaughlin & Associates polls Republicans on 2008 preferences: 34 percent pick **Rudy Giuliani**, followed by 15 percent for Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.), and 7 percent for Gov. **Jeb Bush** (R., Fla.). . . . Among Democrats: 31 percent choose Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.), followed by 20 percent for Kerry and 6 percent for Edwards. . . . Sen. **Joe Biden** (D., Del.): "[French president] Chirac has an ego as big as this room. He's an interesting guy. We all understand the French have been less than helpful, and they've been a pain in the you-know-what."

■ Former Spanish prime minister **José María Aznar**, in *Wall Street Journal*: "Hope has triumphed, and with it the confidence of the American people in the values and principles upon which our shared civilization on both sides of the Atlantic is based." . . . Russian president **Vladimir Putin**: "I rejoice that the American people did not allow themselves to be scared [of **Osama bin Ladin**] and made a right decision." . . . In poll, 65 percent of French call Bush's reelection a "bad thing." . . . Cuba bans stores from accepting U.S. dollars.

■ **Jay Leno**: "John Kerry conceded today. He would have conceded earlier, but he had to meet with the French, the Germans, and Russians first. Get their feeling on the whole situation." **NR**

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es for Flu Vaccines

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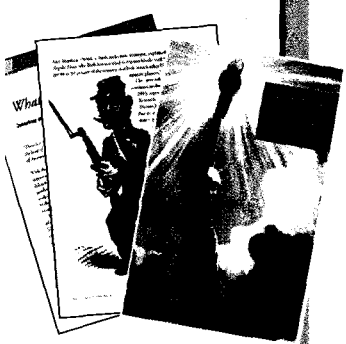

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A recent *New York Times* article on the shortage of vaccines stated that "the heart of the problem, experts say, may be that no one person or agency is in charge of making sure the United States has an adequate vaccine supply." In fact, **the heart of the problem is too much centralized government control.**

No one person or agency is in charge of making sure the United States has an adequate supply of bread. Do you line up for hours for bread? No one is in charge of making sure we have an adequate supply of VCRs, TVs, or computers, yet anyone willing to pay the price can get one easily.

The reason markets work so well is precisely that no one is in charge. Instead, thousands of producers and millions of customers make decisions that mesh. If the price of bread is too low, for example, so that not everyone who wants bread at that price can get it, then producers and retailers raise the price of bread and producers make more bread at the higher price. Vaccines aren't special. It's true that flu vaccine not used this year must be thrown out. But bread not used *this week* must be thrown out, and there's no shortage of bread.

Indeed, the countries in the world that have done the worst are those in which one person or agency is in charge. In the Soviet Union, one agency was in charge of making sure people had an adequate supply of bread. The result was that breadlines were common. And lesser attempts at central planning, such as government-set price controls, have also caused shortages. Nixon's price controls on gasoline in 1973 and Carter's in 1979, for example, caused long lines for gasoline.

Similarly, price controls threaten the supply of vaccines. In 1993 Congress passed former first lady Hillary Clinton's Vaccines for Children program, under which the government now purchases more than half the national supply of children's vaccines at a forced 50 percent discount and then distributes it to doctors who administer it to the poor and uninsured—despite a General Accounting Office report at the time stating that "vaccines are already free" for the truly needy. **One result of price control programs and liability laws has been that the number of vaccine producers has fallen in thirty years from twenty-five down to five.** For some vaccines, there is only one producer.

Tommy Thompson, secretary of the United States Department of Health and Human Services, has urged state attorneys general to go after those who they think price influenza vaccines "too high." The vaccine business is already a high-risk one, due to a limited product shelf life, uncertain demand, and lawsuits. Do threats of price controls make being in the vaccine business *more* attractive?

The solution to our vaccine problems is not to put one agency in charge but, instead, to reduce the role of government so that the vaccine market acts more like the U.S. bread market and less like the Soviet one.

—David R. Henderson

David R. Henderson is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and an economics professor at the Naval Postgraduate School.

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THE WEEK

■ We demand a recount! Just to relive the election, you understand.

■ Count every vote!

■ There was another, small campaign on November 3, the day after: Who would give the better concession speech? John Kerry thanked his supporters, and congratulated President and Mrs. Bush; he said that, while he had watched for every reasonable chance of victory in Ohio, the election should be decided "by voters, not a protracted legal process"; and he called for national unity, which is the rhetoric of American patriotism. John Edwards ranted. John Kerry has suffered enough for his wealth and his Brahmin manner, so perhaps it is fitting to say that he was the class act.

■ John Thune's defeat of Senate minority leader Tom Daschle in South Dakota was a lesson in the price of fame. When George W. Bush took office in 2001, Daschle became the most powerful Democratic official in the land. Jim Jeffords then made him the Senate majority leader. His preeminence helped his Democratic colleague, Tim Johnson, win reelection in 2002: South Dakota voters didn't want to lose the largesse that came from having a home-state majority leader. But voters in other states deprived the Democrats of the majority that year. And as time went on, the attention given to Daschle leeched away his reputation within the state as a conservative Democrat. Every week, voters saw him clashing with the president. On judges and abortion, the state's voters were with the president and not the senator. This year's race was tough, but Thune carried the day. It was always an anomaly that the Dakotas sent four Democratic senators to toe the liberal line in Washington. That anomaly is now beginning to be fixed.

■ We would like to thank the thousands of British leftists who answered the call of the *Guardian* newspaper and took it upon themselves to write to the unsuspecting voters of Clark County, Ohio, telling them to vote for John Kerry. But a special shout-out should go to once-interesting spy novelist John le Carré, atheism fanatic Richard Dawkins, and historian Lady Antonia Fraser—fragrant wife of frothing, America-hating playwright Harold Pinter—for having been so willing to make fools of themselves in penning their inadvertently entertaining letters, printed in full in the *Guardian*. Why are we so happy? In 2004, Kerry won every county in Ohio that Al Gore had in 2000—except one. Can you guess which? Good work, *Guardian*ites! In 2008, we hope you'll launch an America-wide campaign. Four more years!

■ Years ago, Richard Hofstadter wrote an essay called "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." It was about the Right, and conservatives have long been teased on this score. But what if

CNN's Judy Woodruff, as she appeared, more or less, on Election Night.

ROMAN GENN

that essay were written today? Early in the campaign, leading Democrats speculated out loud that the administration was holding bin Laden somewhere, to spring him on the public at a politically opportune moment. Then, when bin Laden showed up in a videotape, some Democrats—including The Most Trusted Man in America, Walter Cronkite—said that it was a Republican trick. (Apparently, Karl called Osama and arranged everything.) Also, many a Democrat contended that the "bulge" in President Bush's back—seen in the first debate—was some sort of transmission device: The hapless president needed answers fed to him by offstage aides. Well, after the election, *The Hill* reported that the bulge actually resulted from a bulletproof vest. Oops. Yes, the paranoid style is firmly on the left—and we haven't even mentioned Halliburton's mysterious powers.

■ We don't have the internals on this poll, but the significance seems pretty plain. Democratic Underground, a left-wing online forum, asked its readers, "What is more depressing: 9/11/01 or 11/3/04?" Two hundred forty-five voted, of whom 73 percent picked the presidential election. Some Democratic Undergrounders were as disgusted by this result as normal Americans would be. "I'm about to bail on this forum after reading garbage like this," wrote one. "I'm starting to think many of you are way out of touch." Hold on to that thought.

■ Get ready for the new line on Hillary—it was signaled in an AP article three days after the election. Looking at 2008, the article said, "The presumptive leading presidential candidates

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are New York Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton, a Northeastern centrist and . . ." Whoa, whoa, whoa! Yes, that's the new line. This child of Marian Wright Edelman's Children's Defense Fund, this alumna of Robert Treuhaft's "revolutionary" and Black Panther law firm—yup, "the Northeastern centrist," that's her. And, given her time in Illinois and Arkansas—she will be the Midwestern and Southern centrist, too.

■ Allow us to say a word in defense of John Kerry. Democrats are jumping to the conclusion that they lost because he was a poor candidate. "He has seven houses, is married to a billionaire, and has French relatives," cracked George Stephanopoulos. (We don't remember the ABC "newsman" commenting on Kerry's unelectability before the election.) Kerry had his weaknesses, to be sure. But what does it say about the Democratic party that it nominated him? Which of his rivals would have done better? Howard Dean, he of the scream and the bitter-end opposition to the Patriot Act? Dick Gephardt, who couldn't ride the labor movement to victory even in Iowa? Kerry's strategy of using his combat experience as a license to straddle on national-security issues was certainly flawed. But what, again, was the alternative? Campaigning to Bush's right, and condemning him for not prosecuting the Iraq war sufficiently aggressively? That would have given Nader 10 percent of the vote. Coming out foursquare and early against the war? That would have deepened the perception of Democratic weakness. Kerry's second-guessers say that he should have responded more quickly to the Swift-boat veterans. But responded how? Kerry has never released the records that could in theory refute their central contentions (some of which are, in any case, irrefutable). The Democrats' problems run deeper than they are willing to admit. The longer they spend blaming Kerry, the greater the likelihood that future Democratic candidates will share his fate.

■ After Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger endorsed it, a ballot initiative to spend California taxpayers' money on embryonic-stem-cell research passed by a large margin. The vote was a setback for pro-lifers (and fiscal conservatives). But Congress can limit the damage: by banning human cloning and setting an age limit on the human embryos that can be used in research. Both proposals would be popular, and would take pro-lifers off defense. The time to act is now, before people become used to experimentation on nascent human life.

■ When the Republicans took Congress in 1995, we warned them not to try to restrain the growth of Medicare. They had no mandate to do it, and it was politically dangerous while Clinton was president. If our advice had been taken, the Republican revolution might have turned out better. Now that there has been another dramatic increase in GOP power, are there big risks to avoid this time? The press, the Democrats, and not a few nervous Republicans will say that the party must avoid overreaching on social issues. But they always say that, and the party's ingrained timidity on these issues means that there is little chance of its happening. Substantial spending cuts, desirable though they would be, would also be politically perilous; but they, too, seem unlikely. That leaves two possible threats to the Republican majority. If Bush pushes too hard for his "temporary worker" program, conservatives in the Congress and the country may well (and should) revolt. And if tax reform increases the tax burden for large numbers of people—or is perceived to do so—Republicans will suffer, as will the rest of the conservative agenda. On immigration and tax reform, Republicans ought to tread carefully or not at all.

■ In the weeks after September 11, few Americans would have predicted that we would go more than three years without another terrorist attack on U.S. soil. Some of the credit for our safety since then has to go to Attorney General John Ashcroft, who has announced that he will not be returning for Bush's second term. Ashcroft's Justice Department has been vigorous in pursuing terrorists, even as a host of largely ignorant critics have assailed him as though he were creating a police state. Ashcroft has been a convenient target: As a law-and-order and social conservative, and a member of the Assemblies of God to boot, he is everything liberals and libertarians dislike about the Right and about the Bush administration. But for all the criticism, Ashcroft went along, stolidly, doing his job, and making the case for commonsense anti-terrorist legislation such as the Patriot Act. We hope his successor makes the same enemies.

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THE WEEK...

■ Hoover, Shmoover. On November 5, the Labor Department shared excellent economic news: 337,000 jobs were created in October, and growth estimates from August and September were increased by 113,000. Employers have now added jobs for 14 months in a row, for a gain of 2.2 million since last August. What's more, the unemployment rate hovers at a historically low 5.5 percent. Similarly rosy is the market outlook: On November 3, after President Bush's victory was certain, stocks staged a strong rally. On November 4, following a press conference in which Bush reaffirmed his commitment to ownership-society initiatives, they surged. Now, while these cheery revelations might have done more good before Election Day—helping Bush in the final stretch, and calming some jitters among the GOP faithful—it's enough that they came after a Bush victory. Otherwise, we could've scripted the headlines in advance: In mid-November, "Kerry Victory Signals Turnaround"; in January or February, "President Kerry Achieves Record Recovery." Forever would Bush's accomplishments have been attributed to his successor, à la the "Clinton Recovery" of late 1992 and early 1993. Having seen the media laud Clinton for the strong economy he inherited at the beginning of his tenure—while blaming Bush for the mess Clinton left him at the end of it—we're happy to see that credit for the president's successes is now more likely to go where it is due.

■ Jimmy Carter joins Michael Moore in comparing Iraq's Baathists and jihadists to the American revolutionaries. MSNBC's Chris Matthews asked Carter if he saw "any parallels between the fighting that we did on our side [during the Revolution] and the fighting that is going on in Iraq today." Carter saw two. The Revolution, he said, was one of the "most bloody" wars we had ever fought. When casualties are compared to the population, and the number of men in arms, Carter is right enough about that. It is the second parallel that astounds. The Revolutionary War, he told Matthews, "was an unnecessary war . . . . the British were very misled . . . in trying to enforce their will on people who were quite different from them at the time." Doubly wrong. The vast majority of Americans spoke

KARL ROVE NANCY KASZERMAN/ZUMA

Moral Muddle

As of this writing, the fast-changing conventional wisdom among the liberal cognoscenti in Washington and New York seems to be this: Karl Rove used "morals" to win the election. Damn that evil genius! How did he come up with that?

But his brilliance doesn't end there. Bush's Rasputin also figured out that in order for Bush to win he would need to "divide" the country—into at least two blocs, with the largest bloc voting for Bush. On November 2, Bush got more votes and—*mirabile dictu*!—he won. No wonder Bob Shrum and Joe Lockhart lost; pitting them against this kind of extraterrestrial perspicacity is like forcing them to play chess with a Vulcan.

Faced with the results of the dastardly mastermind's handiwork, the assembled forces of enlightened opinion soothed themselves by simply declaring anyone who votes on values to be a troglodyte. Maureen Dowd banged her spoon on her table and screeched about how the "jihadist" Bush team appealed to American "primitivism." "They don't call to our better angels," Dowd lamented, "they summon our nasty devils." The novelist Jane Smiley wrote in *Slate*, "The election results reflect the decision of the right wing to cultivate and exploit ignorance in the citizenry."

There are many motives for such childish petulance. The most obvious is that the media were so convinced Kerry would win—and so surprised by the exit polls highlighting "moral values" when he didn't—that they just assumed something "unfair" had happened. In this case, that would be that "God's People" (Howell Raines's sneering phrase) had poured forth from their tin shanties and revival halls carrying a jug of moonshine in one hand and a few rattlesnakes in the other to put their kin in the big White House with indoor plumbing. There's also plain old-fashioned contempt for religious voters. "Can a people that believes more fervently in the Virgin Birth than in evolution still be called an Enlightened nation?" fretted Garry Wills.

But the most important explanation for this frenzy of Christophobic bigotry, Bush hatred, and asininity is far more simple: bad analysis. Religious and pro-life voters had the same share of the vote in 2000. It isn't surprising that values were a big part of this month's election, because they are a big part of *every* election. The issues that capture moral concerns change, of course, but "moral/ethical" issues were judged the most important in 1992, 1996, and 2000, as well as in 2004. They were also Number One prior to the election that swept the Gingrich Congress into power.

And while Karl Rove did indeed run a brilliant campaign, he didn't make same-sex marriage an issue, divisively or otherwise. Rove didn't Jedi mind-trick the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court into rewriting the marriage laws, and he didn't make San Francisco mayor Gavin Newsom illegally authorize gay weddings. If it was so obvious in hindsight that Rove had done all of this, why didn't the mainstream media cover it? Last I checked, the *New York Times* had some antennae pretty finely tuned to "gay bashing," and yet they insisted along with everyone else that this election was going to be about the economy or the war. The cognoscenti lost, and they can't help taking it out on the yokels.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

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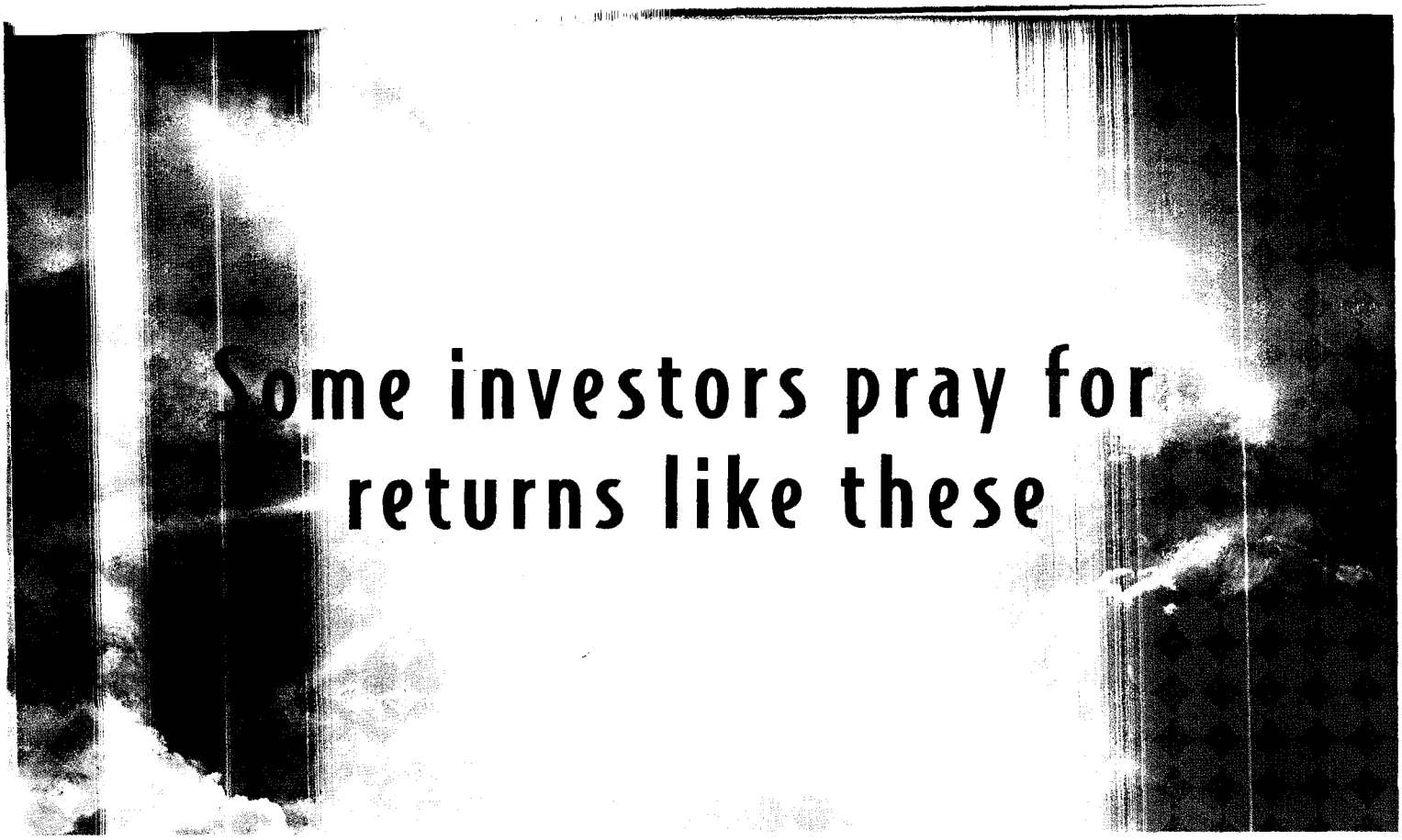

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THE WEEK...

English, were descendants of immigrants from the British isles, and claimed the rights of Englishmen. Britain's error was not in enforcing its will, but in enforcing its unjust will. If Americans had revolted in the name of tyranny, George III would have been quite right to suppress them. Carter sees no distinction between the political system he served and the thugocracy that the Iraqi guerrillas wish to reinstate. His years of hobnobbing with brutes like Arafat and Aristide have dulled whatever moral sense he once possessed.

■ The Marines may have been days away from taking Fallujah in April, when the administration pulled them back. The decision, though an understandable response to Iraqi outrage at the alleged slaughter in the city, was one of the biggest mistakes of the war. It gave the insurgents a sanctuary and emboldened them. This time, however, it does not look as though we are going to pull back. Conditions are different now. There is an Iraqi government in power, and it has made the decision to seize the city. Iraqi officials are also mounting a PR campaign within and outside Iraq to explain and defend the action. Finally, Iraqi military units will be part of the offensive, in a key test of their readiness. Fallujah will be part of a larger operation to establish order in the Sunni triangle, in an attempt to create decent conditions for a January election in which moderate Sunnis can participate without intimidation. If we prevail against our foes in Fallujah—and in New York, where the U.N. bureaucracy is trying to derail the election—Iraq may well turn a corner.

■ After ordering Iraqi troops to Fallujah, Prime Minister Iyad Allawi appealed to the European Union for understanding and aid. He made a speech asking "spectator" countries like France and Germany to engage more with Iraq. On behalf of France, President Jacques Chirac was so upset by this remark that he took the most extreme revenge available to him—he refused to lunch with Allawi. (They were both in Brussels.) Of course, Chirac was beginning to digest the news of George W. Bush's reelection. Should Allawi pacify Fallujah and, with the help of a non-spectator like the United States, go on to supervise a successful election in January, Chirac might well waste away from inanition.

THE BELTWAY BLUES

Dodd, in the dumps, eyes Hartford.
Corzine, Trenton-bound, bleats.
Albany lures Chuck Schumer like
Calves to a moo-cow's teats.
All three, depressed, seek solace,
Each in his native state,
Where being governor pumps up
Egos when they deflate.

—W. H. VON DREELE

■ We have all heard the joke about the southern man (warning: lame dialect humor ahead) who, after seeing his doctor, comes home dressed like a Gilbert and Sullivan admiral. When his wife asks why, he replies, "The doctor says ah'm impotent, so ah should dress like ah'm impotent." Osama bin Laden looked and sounded very impotent indeed in his preelection tape. The good news for Osama is that he is still alive. His last few tapes had been so dubious that there was reason to think he was entombed in some busted bunker in Tora Bora. The bad news for Osama is that he is still alive, and able to witness the world he has created. His Afghan safe haven is long gone. Many of his lieutenants have been rounded up or killed. Many of the remainder are being hunted down in Iraq. The Muslim world has not rallied to his banner. Sometimes the wicked get what they deserve in this life. Osama still has some more coming. It will.

■ How they are fighting over Yasser Arafat's legacy! In a career of murder and mayhem, he won complete power over the Palestinians, and all their money too, safely in his name in tax havens. The moment he landed in a Paris hospital, perhaps in a coma or even brain-dead from some unspecified disease, the vultures swarmed. His wife, Suha, shrieked on al-Jazeera television that everyone was conspiring against her and him. Well, she has a chic lifestyle and a luxury Paris apartment to keep up, and she will be wanting signatures on crucial banking and legal documents. And a handful of veterans of real conspiracy and terror flew in from the West Bank to lay hands on the power ebbing away inside the hospital. This has the makings of a classic French farce—except that it is a tragic illustration of the flaws built into one-man despotism like Arafat's. Others are now seizing from him what he seized from others. Pity the Palestinians. Arafat has left them at the mercy of people like himself.

■ On November 2, the day on which Americans gave their verdict on the president, the people of the Netherlands received, through the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh, a horrific reminder that no country anywhere can be truly be said to be immune from the threat posed by Islamic extremism. In Amsterdam that day, an assassin shot Van Gogh, stabbed him, and then butchered him like a sacrificial animal. By making the film *Submission,* a caustic attack on Muslim misogyny, Van Gogh had transgressed the code of the fanaticism that has, alas, made its home in Holland too. And for that he had to die. In the aftermath, there was tough talk from the Dutch government, but the best clue as to what will happen next comes, probably, from Rotterdam. There, a local artist reacted to the murder by painting a mural that included the words "Thou Shalt Not Kill." Fair comment, you might think. Apparently not. The head of a nearby mosque complained. The police showed up. City workers sandblasted the inconvenient text into oblivion. "Thou Shalt Not Kill." Erased, obliterated, unacceptable. Much like Theo van Gogh. R.I.P.

■ There is, apparently, a desire among British TV viewers to watch human bodies decomposing, a desire left insufficiently satisfied by occasional Rolling Stones concerts and imported clips from *60 Minutes*. So, at any rate, believe the managers of the avant-garde TV network Channel 4. They have accordingly called for a volunteer—some terminally ill person who would be

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Then, unexpectedly, the White House was calling the City of Dallas stating that the poster was being rejected and could not be sold at the convention. It violated protocol. The insert at the bottom had the Vice President on the wrong side of the President.

A new poster could not be completely redesigned, approved, and made ready for the convention now only a few days away. The only viable option was to block out the "objectionable" feature. So instead of seeing the original poster, the conventioneers bought a revised edition. The image of the President and Vice President waving was replaced with a 6½" blue square with patriotic stars and the words "Grand Old Party." This became the "official" poster at the convention, and thousands were sold.

So what became of the posters originally printed for the Convention? Now, 20 years later, fewer than 1,500 copies remain in good condition. The artist has made them available to collectors of Reagan memorabilia. Each poster is personally signed by the artist, Don Adair. Because so few of these original posters remain, we urge you to order your 1984 Original Republican National Convention Poster today.

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willing to have his corpse laid out at "a secret and secure outdoor location" so that its decomposition could be filmed over several months, under the supervision of a team of forensic scientists. Now, we wouldn't want to intrude anything resembling bad taste into the deliberations of Channel 4 executives, but if no other suitable donor can be found, we may here be looking at a neat solution to the problems now arising in regard to the proper disposition of Chairman Arafat's mortal remains.

■ On October 19, Paul Nitze, one of the greatest of the Cold Warriors—and one of the greatest of the Americans—died at 97. Could we have made it without him? Luckily, we didn't have to try. From the beginning, he was always realistic about the Soviet Union, when so many others were not. At midcentury, he wrote the famous "NSC 68" memo, which insisted our government "confront" the Soviet Union and "frustrate the Kremlin design of a world dominated by its will." He was a leader of the CIA-questioning "Team B," and of the campaign to block SALT II, and of the Committee on the Present Danger—for he knew the danger. He was a perfect negotiator with the Soviet Union because he could not be fooled, and because he believed in the goodness and survival of the Free West. An unusually gifted and wide-ranging man, he was a founder of the School of Advanced International Studies in Washington (later named for him)—and of Aspen, Colo., as a ski resort. He loved music, and other things that make life. In 1993, he attended a reception before a concert, and was asked whether he was surprised to have lived to see the downfall of the Soviet Union. Yes, he said, very surprised—had never been so surprised by anything. He was modest, too, as you can see, having an integrity that could not be breached. Thank God he was around. R.I.P.

CAMPAIGN 2004

Victory

PRESIDENT BUSH won big on November 2, and anyone who says otherwise is just spinning. He won an absolute majority of the popular vote, which had not been done since 1988. He increased his percentage of the vote in at least 45 states. He increased his vote share among men and women; among Catholics, evangelical Protestants, Jews, and non-churchgoers; among Hispanics, whites, Asians, and even blacks; among urban voters and suburbanites. He won a larger percentage of the vote than any Democrat in the last 40 years. He is the first incumbent in 40 years to increase his party's seats in the House and the Senate while winning reelection. And he did it under difficult circumstances: According to the exit polls, most voters thought that the economy was "not good" or "poor" and that the war in Iraq was going "badly." To say that Bush beat John Kerry by only three percentage points, or by only 136,000 votes in Ohio, is to miss the point.

National-security and moral issues accounted for Bush's victory. A third of the electorate told exit pollsters that Iraq and the general War on Terror were the issue most important to them; 59 percent of these voters backed Bush. The president's confidence in American power outpolled Kerry's lifelong distrust of it. There has been some controversy about the extent to which Bush owes his reelection to evangelical and Catholic conservatives concerned about abortion and same-sex marriage. The consensus seems to be that these issues helped Republicans only slightly more than they usually do—which underscores the fact that the moral issues are a longstanding Republican advantage. Even in elections the Republicans have lost, as in 1992 and 1996, exit polls have shown, for example, that pro-life voters are much more willing to cast votes based on abortion policy than are pro-choice voters. If Democrats think they can win socially conservative voters merely by dropping God's name, they are going to spend a long time in the wilderness.

By any objective standard, the president has as much of a mandate as any president since 1980—and what's more important, he has the Congress. The Senate has shifted markedly to the right with the addition of committed conservatives such as Jim DeMint and Tom Coburn. John Thune's defeat of Senate minority leader Tom Daschle may lead other Democratic senators to avoid following Daschle's example of obstruction.

Moral issues played a large role in the Senate victories, too. Social liberals are trying to draw consolation from the exit polls, noting that 27 percent of the public favored same-sex marriage and another 35 percent favored civil unions—leaving only 38 percent against governmental recognition of same-sex couples. That is a change: As recently as six years ago, civil unions were seen as an extremely liberal idea. But note also that on every occasion when the voters of a state were asked whether they wished to ban same-sex marriage or civil unions, they answered yes. Defenders of marriage may need to change some of their tactics, but they have won the first round of the fight. They have a good shot at winning the second round, too, when federal-court appointments are debated in the new, more conservative Senate (but see our next editorial).

The election results did not just reflect trends in American opinion; they also reflected a superb job of retail-politicking by the Republicans. A lot of people deserve credit for the success of the Bush campaign, but above all the president himself. He was willing to gamble his presidency on the Iraq war. His campaign was cool, well paced, smart, and generous in its willingness to help other Republican candidates. (Bush's reelection campaign had bigger coattails than Reagan's.) The candidate himself was energetic and refused to buckle under severe pressure.

The heart of the Republican coalition has three chambers: free-marketeers, cultural conservatives, and national-defense hawks. President Bush in his next term should strengthen the first group, stand by the second, and vindicate the third. We hope to see, and conservatives should struggle to get, a stable and relatively free Iraq; al-Qaeda diminished; private investment accounts added to Social Security; conservative judges on the federal bench; and a ban on human cloning.

We still have our differences with this administration. We wish it engaged in public argument more, that it were a little less secretive, that it projected more of a sense that it could learn something from its critics. But the critics, including the conservative ones, could learn rather more from Bush. He may be in the middle of his presidency—a "lame duck," in the hilarious instant

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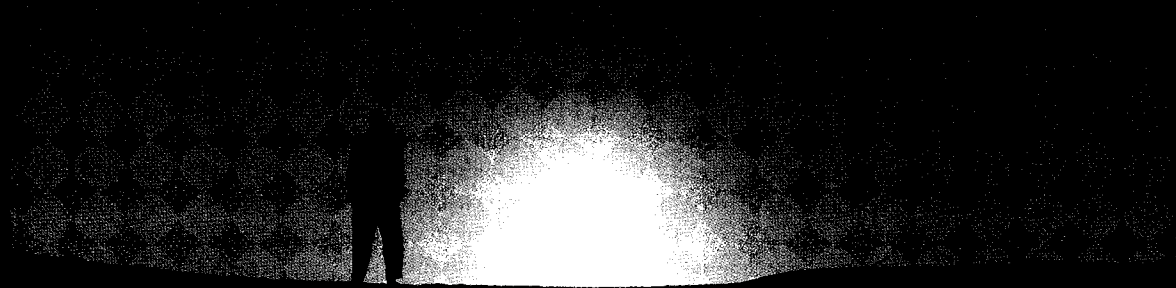

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THE WEEK...

judgment of some journalists, still "misunderestimating" him after all these years—but a conservative era in American governance could be starting now.

THE COURTS

No Gavel for Specter

JUST hours after the election, Sen. Arlen Specter suggested to reporters that President Bush should not nominate judges who might overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. Specter, whose seniority puts him in line to be chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said that *Roe* was settled law, compared it to *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, predicted anti-*Roe* nominees would inspire filibusters, and concluded that he "would expect the president to be mindful of the considerations that I mentioned."

Specter's comment was characteristically graceless: President Bush had saved him from a primary defeat at the hands of conservative congressman Pat Toomey, and his reward was to receive a diktat from the senator about judges. Never mind that several senators had been unseated in the last two elections in part because they had blocked Bush's judges on the precise grounds Specter mentioned.

Specter subsequently issued a statement saying that he had no litmus test for judges and that he would not presume to give orders to the president. But Specter's remarks had not been ambiguous; they were crystal clear.

And they were wrong. *Roe* is not settled precedent. Specter noted that the Court had reaffirmed it in the 1992 *Casey* decision. But *Casey* modified *Roe* in ways that *Roe*'s author disliked. In 2000, the justices who gave us *Casey* were unable to agree on whether it protected partial-birth abortion. And if *Roe* is so settled, why does Specter feel it necessary to exert himself to defend it? The comparison of *Roe* to *Brown*, meanwhile, was a gratuitous and vicious insult to millions of Republican voters. Pro-lifers are not segregationists, and Specter's side in this debate is not that of human rights.

The Republican party is a coalition, not a faction. It has room for people who disagree with the party's position on abortion. But Specter is not just saying that he favors legal abortion. He wants judges to block the popular will on the subject. He wants the Supreme Court to stop the voters of any state, or of the whole country, from protecting unborn human life. And he wants to keep any judge who thinks differently from getting on the courts.

Specter's intolerance for the mainstream view of his party should keep him from getting the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee. And it's not just the party's social conservatives who have a stake in denying him that post. Specter has also said that he wants judges to pledge their fealty to the gods of "diversity." He is perhaps the leading Republican opponent of tort reform. He goes further than John Kerry in seeking American subservience to the International Criminal Court: Kerry, at least, voted in the Senate to protect American servicemen from being tried there. His *Roe* litmus test would also tend to exclude jurists who have restrained views of judicial power in general—which would set back the cause of constitutionalism on issues beyond abortion.

Nor can Specter hide behind the pretense that he was merely predicting the filibuster that would greet a conservative nominee, rather than stating his own view. A chairman of the Judiciary Committee, confronted with a filibuster of a nominee who deserves confirmation, should demand an up-or-down vote on that nominee. He should make the case against a filibuster, not preemptively surrender to it.

Specter's statement, combined with his record, makes him a very poor choice for committee chairman. We are well aware of how clubby the Senate is, and how entrenched the practice of deferring to seniority. The circumstances call, however, for rising above Senate custom. Specter's colleagues ought to find him another sinecure.

POLITICS

Dismayed, and Dismaying

WE do not usually favor expensive domestic-policy initiatives, but the Bush administration should consider emergency spending on mental health. So many of its critics have gone nuts.

A casual tourist of the op-eds and the Internet can catalogue all the symptoms. The Bush haters begin with random abuse. "The president got reelected by dividing the country along fault lines of fear, intolerance, ignorance and religious rule" (Maureen Dowd). She left out receiving stolen goods. "I grew up in Missouri and most of my family voted for Bush, so I am going to be the one to say it: The election results reflect the decision of the right wing to cultivate and exploit ignorance in the citizenry. . . . My relatives are not ignorant, they are just greedy and full of classic Republican feelings of superiority" (Jane Smiley). That will be an awkward Thanksgiving dinner.

They predict disaster and conflict, or welcome it. "I don't hope for more and worse scandals and failures during Mr. Bush's second term, but I do expect them" (Paul Krugman). How *freude* is your *schaden*? "An administration given to hubris will have to be checked by institutions outside what is likely to be a compliant Congress. This is no time for the independent media to be intimidated by trumped-up charges of liberal bias" (E. J. Dionne). Unleash Dan Rather!

They say the country has been kidnapped. "We don't just disagree on what America should be doing; we disagree on what America is" (Thomas L. Friedman). We hold these truths to be not so self-evident after all. "Where else do we find fundamentalist zeal, a rage at secularity, religious intolerance, fear of and hatred for modernity? . . . We find it in the Muslim world, in Al Qaeda, in Saddam Hussein's Sunni loyalists" (Garry Wills). Stop the presses—Garry Wills criticizes Saddam's loyalists.

The wrath of the losers is more than pique over a hotly contested election, even one contested in wartime. Bush haters feel affronted by America's failure to defer to their wisdom. Pundits, novelists, historians, movie stars, eminentoes, and glitterati of every kind told us that Bush was dumb, crooked, bigoted, blood-

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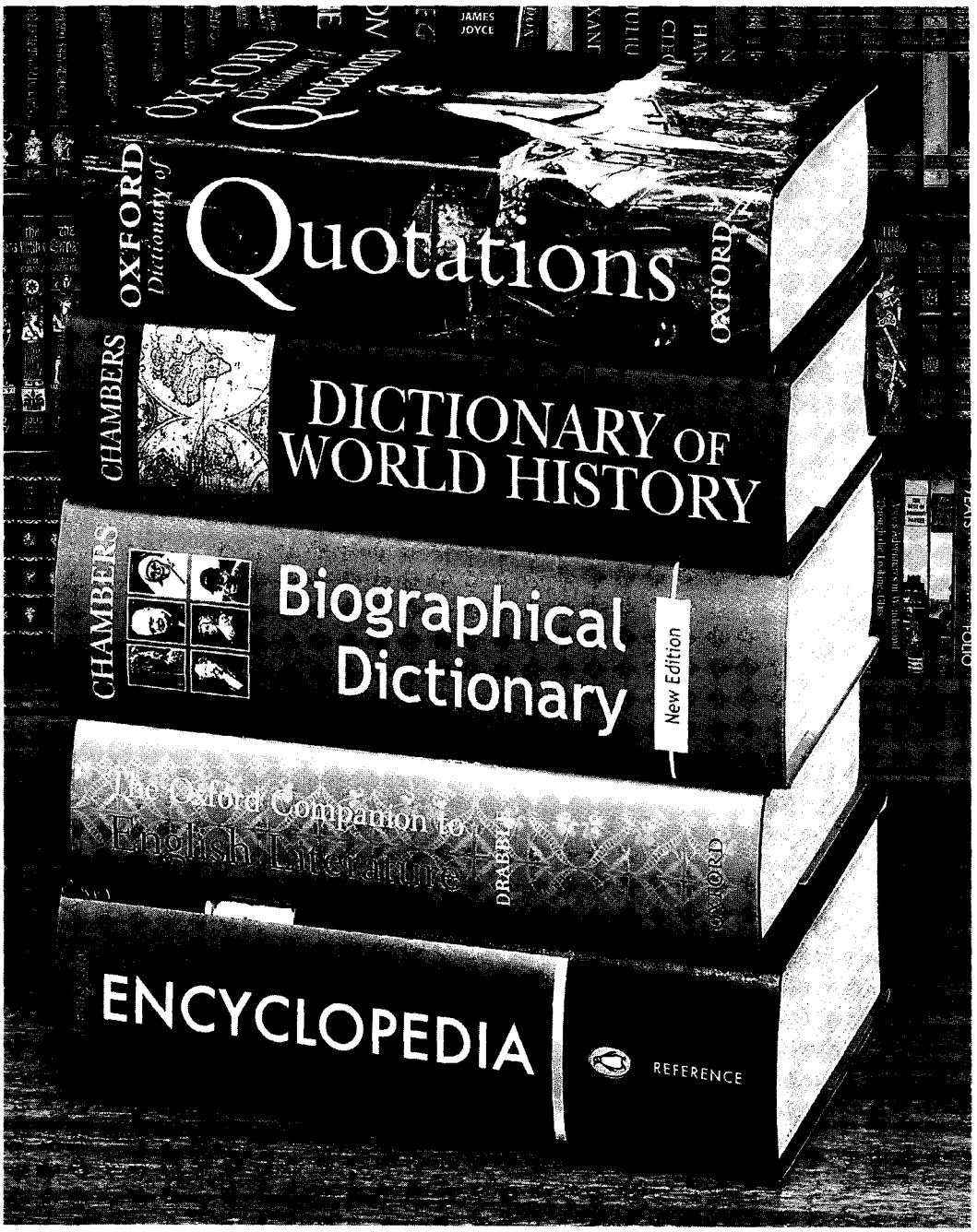

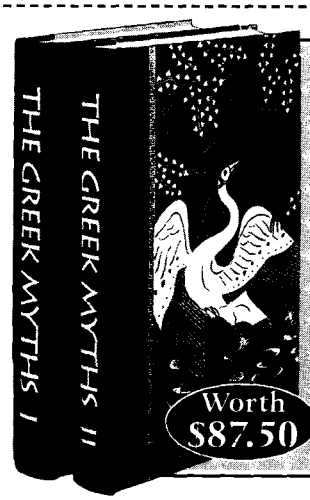

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thirsty, incompetent, and unpopular the world over, yet 51 percent of the electorate ignored them. The election was worse than a defeat; it was a diss. All was lost, including honor.

America has had many frantic elections, some far worse: The election of 1860 led to the Civil War. But perhaps the closest analogue to the wrath of the Bush haters is the mentality of the Federalist party during the War of 1812. The Federalists had had great leaders (Washington, Hamilton) and great achievements (ratifying the Constitution). They thought of themselves as, and to a large extent were, the nation's elite. But as the 19th century dawned, this elite lost power, and lost its way. They could not accept defeat as a turn of the wheel, or a possible lesson to themselves. The nation, they thought, had become base (America was "infamous and contented," wrote Fisher Ames, prefiguring Jane Smiley). War maddened them, causing Federalist diehards to pray for defeat.

When peace returned, the Federalists collapsed—the first major American party to disappear. Democrats and liberals won't disappear. But they will prolong their stay in the wilderness if they give themselves over to frothing.

notes & asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Linda Bridges
Re: Buckley Online

Dear Bill: It occurs to me that many of our readers, after seeing your talk for Hillsdale printed in Notes & Asides, will want to know more about Buckley Online.

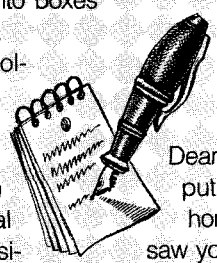
This is an amazing project, Hillsdale's intention being nothing less than to gather everything you've ever written and put it online. It has been years in the making so far, and it is a work in progress. Last time I talked with the woman in charge of it, Stephanie Umphress, they had more than 7,000 items scanned and indexed—with lots more to come. It's easy to use—we've already found two decades-old columns you were looking for—by logging on to www.hillsdale.edu/Buckley.

Cheers, Linda

Linda: That is wonderfully reassuring, that it's all traceable. If I had another ten years to live, I'd put on a moustache and red wig, and descend on Hillsdale as a wandering scholar, go through the entire WFB collection and DESTROY everything that embarrasses me! E.g. the letter last July to the Spanish professor in which I confided that John Kerry would probably be elected president. Fortunately, it was written in Spanish and may not be noticed by casual patrons.

Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I wish to add a little to your comments on the Hoover Institution, so that people may understand and be a little more patient. I have been working with the very able staff there over the last three years to organize the papers of my late uncle, Allen Drury, the novelist. While Al was a wonderful writer and great human being, he was not organized. He was neat—I will hand him that. His house was immaculate. And it got that way because he simply shoved all the papers lying around into boxes and shipped them to Palo Alto.



Hoover has many such collections, for Al was not the only person who kept house that way. And Al's is not the only interesting collection there. Even before the arrival of *Firing Line*, I told some business associates that one would not think to describe an archive as a high-pressure, busy environment, but that is how you would describe Hoover. *Firing Line* arrived at just the moment that an invaluable collection from Taiwan was finally opened for public use. When I began my work, a very busy day was when every *table* was taken. When I was there last month, a normal day was when every available *seat* was taken. As boxes must be fetched and the use of the collections monitored, this meant the staff was stretched to its very limits.

Yet work on *Firing Line* was continuing in the next room. They are doing their best, and their best is very good indeed. Patience should be the order of the day, for on any given day, you will find sitting on the users' shelves boxes from the collections of Friedrich Hayek, Karl Popper, the Mont Pelerin Society, Eric Voegelin, from Soviet, Nazi, and Chinese collections, from archives you wouldn't imagine existed. The mind reels at the riches on display. Hoover helped fight the lonely fight in the darkest hours of the Cold War and it is only fitting that *Firing Line* has found a home there. Very shortly, the delays will be ended, the complete *Firing Line* will be available in all its considerable glory, and we will have yet another reason to be so very grateful for the existence of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.

Sincerely,
Kenneth A. Killiany
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Killiany: How excitingly you put it, and of course *Firing Line* is honored to keep such company. I saw your uncle Allen Drury regularly at the Bohemian Grove and we took deep satisfaction in our remove from the political midstream!

Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Bill: As I piously wait to hear comments on the election from the people I so much respect in Hollywood, I was trying to think of the Latin equivalent of *Schadenfreude*. But since the noble Romans were compassionate conservatives, they did not seem to have one. So I offer this neologism (which word itself is a Latin-Hellenic hybrid): *Verecundiagauisa*. It has a nice sound and today it sort of trips off the lips.

Gaude,
Fr. George W. Rutler
New York, NY

Padre: It may trip off *your* lips, but don't expect to pass it on to your congregation.

Warmest,

—WFB

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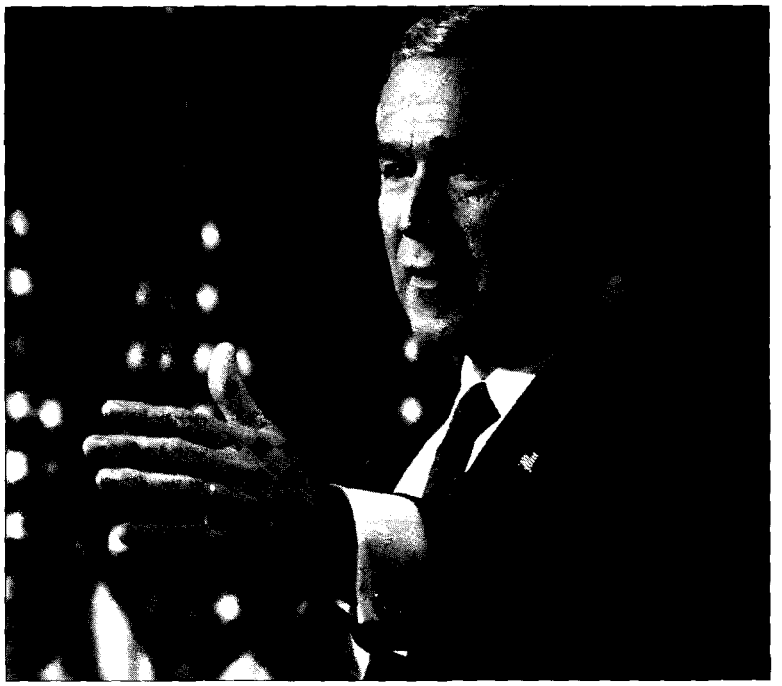

Press the Advantage

Turn the voters right

RAMESH PONNURU

In the flush of victory, conservatives may be tempted to think that November 2 was a pivotal election in our nation's history. But they should remember that they do not yet hold a majority in either house of Congress—or in the country. What they are is a majority of a majority. They are an extremely large minority, and one that the public prefers, slightly but decisively, to their rivals. The election will have been pivotal only if conservatives use their newfound power to consolidate their position.

Consolidating their position means, above all, proving themselves to be responsible stewards of the public interest. President Bush will have to deliver on his promises to make the country safer and more prosperous. The public does not yet trust conservatives on health care or the environment: To build a lasting majority, they will have to address those doubts. They will also have to put more effort into recruiting black and Hispanic allies.

While governing intelligently, conservatives will also have to engage in politics of a more tough-minded kind. The trial lawyers and the unions depend on government activism and promote it. Tort reform and deregulation of the workplace, desirable in their own right as retreats of statism, would also weaken the liberal coalition and thus make further reforms possible. Even as boring an initiative as the Bush proposal for "competitive sourcing"—letting the private sector do more federal work—could prove very useful for conservatives in the campaign to weaken public-sector unions.

Changing the balance of power among interest groups is important. But the biggest opportunity conservatives now have is to change the electorate: to alter its composition so that its interests, beliefs, and political behavior become more conservative.

Successful political movements create the conditions for their own success. The tropism of modern liberalism is to create a kind of self-perpetuating dependency on government. Before Clinton took power, Democratic strategist Stanley Greenberg argued that the key to creating a new Democratic majority was to enact national health insurance. A middle class increasingly dependent on government would increasingly vote for the party of government. It was an old strategy: "Tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect," was the way it was put in New Deal days. Clinton failed to enact his health-care plan. But he did increase college subsidies and hired more public-school teachers. He reduced the tax rolls, expanding the constituency of Americans who could vote for federal activism while someone else was being "taxed and taxed." He accelerated naturalization, at least when facing reelection, seeing in new immigrants a new client group.

Conservatives are great demographic worriers. They wonder whether limited government will be sustainable in a country where more and more people pay no income tax, and where hundreds of thousands of poor and unschooled immigrants arrive each year. But public policy can also expand the social base of conservatism.

Conservatives want families to be more stable, the country to be more culturally cohesive, and people to be more self-reliant economically. They consider these changes in the national character to be preconditions for the future success of America and, indeed, liberal democracy. They are also preconditions for conservative political success. The more people rely on their own investments rather than on federal handouts to secure their retirement, the more they will vote for conservative candidates. The larger the proportion of voters who are married with children, the larger the Republicans' vote share. The more assimilated immigrants are, the more likely they are to vote conservative.

There aren't many things that the government can properly do to increase the ranks of social conservatives, and much of what could properly be done is politically impossible. Restricting divorce, especially where children are involved, might be a good idea, but nobody in politics has the stomach for it. There are, however, two areas where conservatives can make a difference. The first is the tax code, which is heavily biased against marriage, especially

ALEX WONG/GETTY NOV. 4, 2004

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at the low end of the income scale. That could be changed. The second is judicial power. Judges have repeatedly tried to foreclose political action by social conservatives, by ruling such issues as school prayer off-limits for legislatures. These rulings have so far done more to motivate social conservatives to vote than to discourage them. Should it ever become clear that the judges will never be reversed—that no amount of political success would ever bring school prayer back—then a social-conservative withdrawal from the electorate might follow. That would cripple conservatism across the board. Here preventive action is called for: chiefly, the appointment of judges who will not remove issues from the political arena without a clear constitutional warrant.

Assimilation is a blind spot of conservatism in the Bush era. My own view is that immigrants would prosper more, and assimilate faster, if there were fewer of them. The president, however, wants to increase the flow of legal immigration while keeping "temporary workers" from voting. I doubt this policy will work, or that it would be desirable if it did. But even those conservatives who agree with Bush on immigration tend to want aggressive policies to assimilate the newcomers. Unfortunately, Bush is not interested in ending bilingual education, repealing racial preferences, or resisting multiculturalism. (He does not even want to expand the military, a great engine of assimilation as well as an inculcator of virtues essential to conservatism.) He may believe that his acquiescence in these policies has made it possible for him to increase his support among Hispanics. Even if he is correct, his policies present long-term dangers for conservatism.

If Bush can't do much to increase social conservatism and won't do anything to promote assimilation, he can still encourage economic self-reliance. That is no small thing. Free-market economics has been a glaring electoral weak point for conservatism. In this election, Republicans beat Democrats on national-security and values issues. But they were defensive about outsourcing, the minimum wage, and price controls for medicine. Even the tax issue did not work as well for Republicans as it had in years past, doubtless because few people felt personally threatened by the Democrats' proposed tax increases. More generally, much of the conservative frustration with Bush over the last four years has been ultimately traceable to the absence of a substantial constituency within the electorate for small, or even slow-growing, government.

The new investor class could become that constituency. Bush has enacted markedly pro-investor policies—a reduction in the tax rate on capital gains, dividends, and estates, and an expansion of 401(k) accounts—but has not made a specific appeal to the new investors. Indeed, Republicans have not even run ads explaining that their policies are good for them. Yet the policies themselves, and the naturally conservatizing tendencies of stockholding, seem to have won the new investors for the Republicans.

Those policies do not, however, do much to increase the number of investors. Bush's proposal to reform Social Security would. In both his presidential campaigns, Bush said that younger workers should be allowed to invest some of their payroll taxes to fund their own retirements. That would substantially increase the size of the new investor class—potentially making it coterminous with the electorate. Making Social Security more free-market would be a dramatic right turn for American politics in itself. It would also make it easier to achieve free-market policies in the future, by making voters themselves more market-oriented.

The idea that conservatives should try to change the political climate can obviously be taken too far. A policy that increased the number of conservative voters while hurting the economy would not be worth having. But the idea should help conservatives set priorities. Some conservative tax reformers would like to end the deduction for mortgage interest. It's a fine idea. But ending that deduction would consume a lot of political capital, and it would not make it easier to enact other reforms. Universal IRAs would be both easier to enact and more politically productive—and should therefore be pursued first.

Conservatives, newly empowered, need to pursue growth strategies such as Social Security reform. If they do, they will create a conservative future. And when the Democrats regain power, as they eventually will, they will have to respond to a more conservative electorate. **NR**

What the Swifties Wrought

The power of an ad campaign

JOHN J. MILLER

For Republican ad-man Rick Reed, the inaugural press conference of the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth was less a professional opportunity than a chance to catch up with kin. His uncle, Adrian Lonsdale, had been one of John Kerry's superior officers in Vietnam. The retired Coast Guard captain and more than a dozen other veterans were gathering in public for the first time to challenge various claims Kerry had made about his four-month tour of duty.

"I thought those guys had a great story that needed to get out," says Reed. He returned to his office that afternoon, sent out a few e-mails describing what the Swifties had charged, and then waited for the barrage of media interest.

It never came.

"We had a pretty good success, except it became apparent that we were going to get no attention from the major media," says retired Admiral Roy Hoffmann, one of the ringleaders of Swift Boat Vets. "I think it was practically zero."

Well, it wasn't *exactly* zero. The media did show up—and promptly dismissed the vets as ax-grinding Republican operatives. A short *New York Times* article, for instance, was buried on page A22. It included references to "Nixonian dirty tricks" and Joe McCarthy.

That May 4 press conference was perhaps the most overlooked major news event of the campaign—and the media's failure to give the Swifties their due led to an ad campaign that will go down in history for its stunning effectiveness. By Election Day, the Swift Boat Vets had spent more than $19 million on TV advertising, mostly in battleground states such as Ohio

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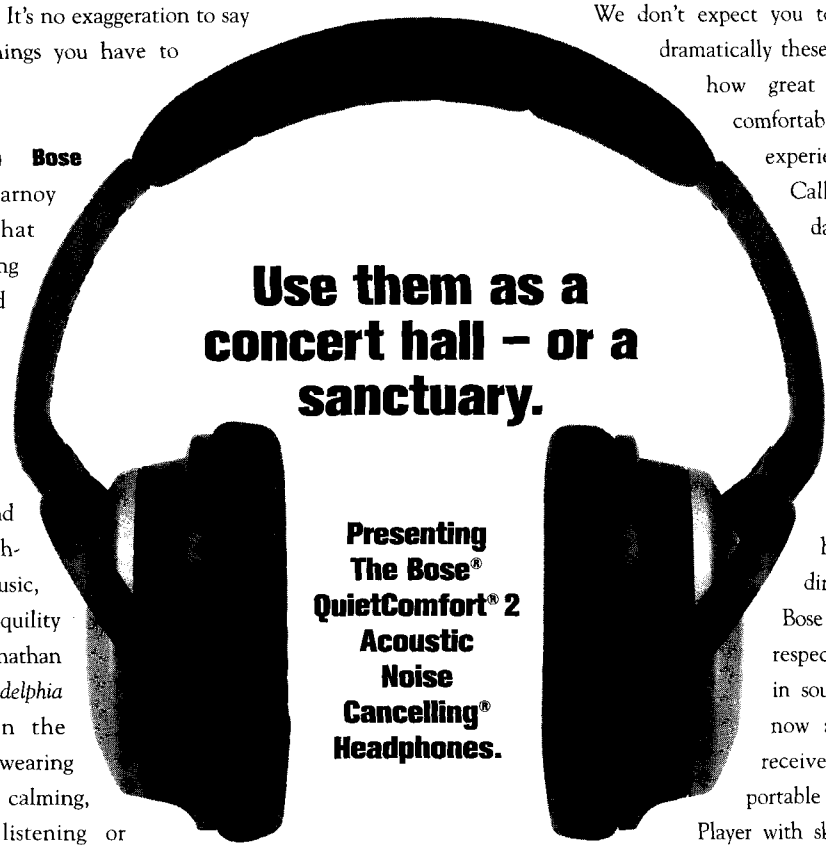

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($5.1 million) and Florida ($3.6 million). One post-election survey of actual voters found that 75 percent of them were familiar with the Swifties and their allegations about Kerry's qualifications for the presidency. When voters were asked which of the ads financed by the so-called 527 groups made the biggest impact, the Vietnam vets were cited almost as much as all the other 527 groups *combined.*

The Swifties had hoped to tell their war stories on May 4, give a few interviews, and then return to their normal lives as the press and the voters sorted things out. But the failure—or, perhaps more accurately, the refusal—of the media to investigate their claims in the wake of the press conference troubled them. "We learned from some former POWs that when they were held captive in Vietnam, they developed a 'tap code' to communicate with each other without the guards' knowing," says John O'Neill, a Swift-boat commander and one of the group's organizers. "We realized we needed our own tap code to talk to the public."

By the first week of June, a few of the Swifties were meeting with GOP political hand Chris LaCivita, a combat veteran who bonded with O'Neill and the others. As a Marine fighting in Kuwait in 1991, LaCivita received a Purple Heart for taking shrapnel from an Iraqi T-72 tank. O'Neill e-mailed him a draft manuscript of what would become his best-selling book, *Unfit for Command: Swift Boat Veterans Speak Out Against John Kerry.*

"My first thought was that we had to run ads to force the issue," says LaCivita. "The mainstream media can ignore a press conference, but they can't ignore an ad."

LaCivita jotted down an idea for a script and got in touch with Reed, a friend who had produced ads for Republican candidates. There was not much copy to write because most of the ads would simply rely on the veterans' speaking directly to the camera. "Our main intention was to preserve the authenticity of these veterans," says LaCivita. "We didn't want our ads to look like something out of D.C. or Hollywood." Rather than planning for one or two commercials, they mapped out an entire campaign that would run up to the election. Yet they weren't sure how they would secure the financing. They hoped for a budget of perhaps $3 million.

Their first task was to assemble the veterans. On July 9, about 30 of them gathered at the Key Bridge Marriott in Arlington, Va. That evening, LaCivita went through their stories and tried to figure out who had the closest connections to Kerry. Everybody signed affidavits. The next day, a Saturday, the entire group got on a bus and headed for Atlantic Studios in downtown Washington, where old soldiers and sailors sat in front of green screens for 13 hours as the cameras recorded their stories.

John O'Neill

Over the next few days, Reed turned this mountain of footage into a pair of 60-second commercials featuring veterans contradicting Kerry's claims of combat bravado and criticizing his anti-war protesting. The green screens were replaced with black-and-white photos of Swift boats and Kerry. The second ad included Kerry's own voice from his 1971 Senate testimony damning American soldiers for war crimes. Both were set to original music composed by Todd Hahn; the aural effect was at once solemn and chilling.

Simultaneously, the Swifties started raising money. They managed to cobble together about $500,000 for advertising—a pittance compared with the tens of millions that George Soros, MoveOn.org, and others were spending to aid the Democrats. When the first ad aired in early August, it was limited to a few small markets in Ohio, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The Swifties couldn't afford to pay for stations in Cleveland or Milwaukee, so they settled for the likes of Youngstown and Wausau instead.

Their timing couldn't have been better. The previous week had seen the release of O'Neill's book as well as Kerry's convention speech with its "reporting for duty" line and heavy emphasis on service in Vietnam. "We had discussed airing the ad during the convention, but we just didn't have the money for it," says Greg Mueller, a conservative publicist who promoted O'Neill's book and arranged media appearances for other veterans. "It was really helpful to have Kerry raise the issue of Vietnam on his own and so prominently."

Even though the first ad appeared in just a handful of venues, it quickly became the subject of intense national debate. LaCivita had been correct: The media could ignore the Swifties when they gathered at the National Press Club, but they had a much more difficult time when the veterans made their accusations in commercials airing in battleground states. As Internet sites, talk radio, and cable-TV shows turned their gaze toward the Swifties, a news story was born.

Kerry was criticized for not responding quickly enough. There is some truth in this, because Kerry's team really did think that engaging the Swifties would breathe extra life into their efforts. Without talking points, however, the candidate's surrogates grew frustrated. Many of them wound up defending Kerry's statements from 30 years earlier—i.e., they affirmed that war crimes were rampant and said Kerry was right to speak out against them. Yet this only succeeded in shining more light on the basic problem: Kerry didn't respond to the Swifties because there was no meaningful response he could make short of offering a full apology for his 1971 testimony. This was something he wasn't willing to do. So he clung to the

ROMAN GENN

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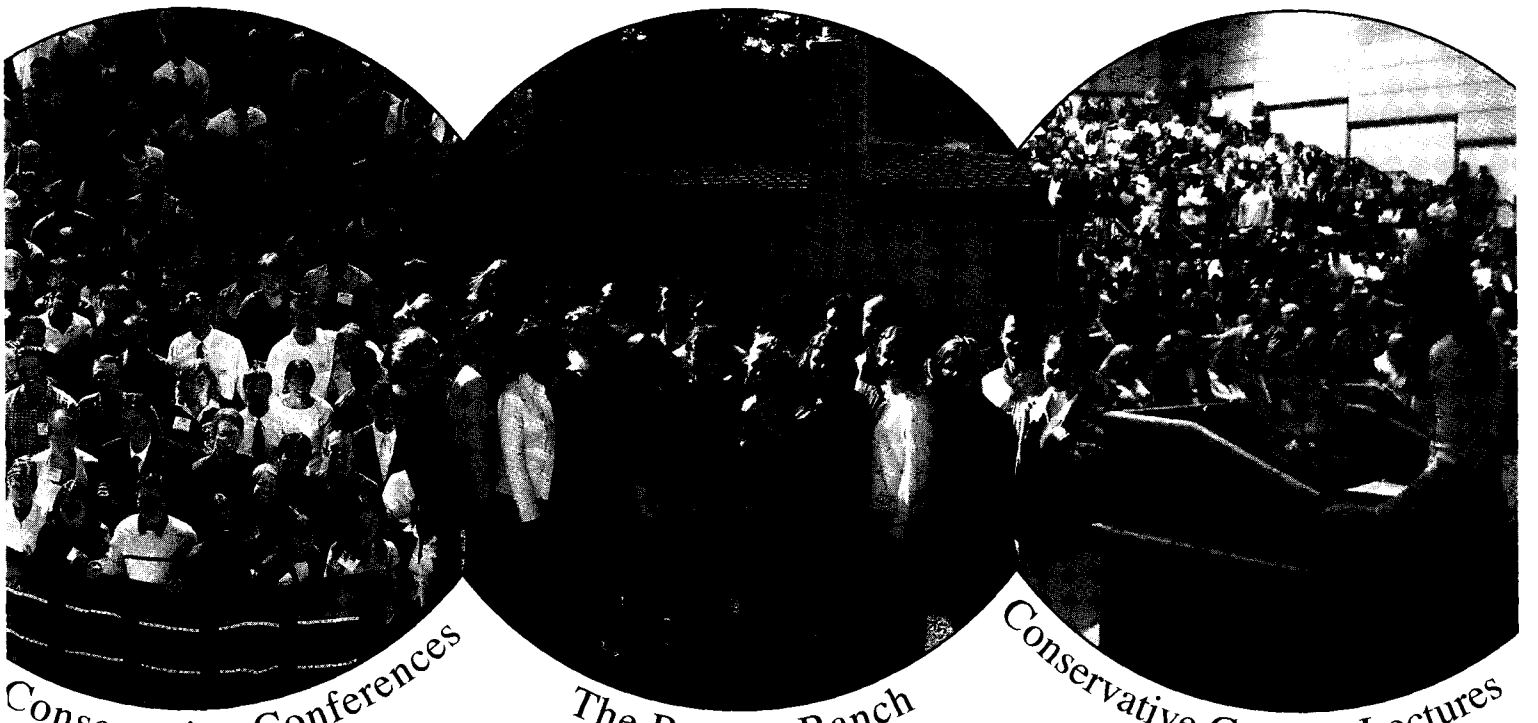

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awkward hope that voters would revere his own service in a cause that he had slandered.

More ads followed. An Internet-only ad featured Kerry crewmate Steven Gardner challenging the senator's claim of having gone on a secret mission to Cambodia. Next came a pair of ads about Kerry throwing away his war medals, and his various explanations of that notorious episode. Another commercial described Kerry meeting with North Vietnamese leaders in Paris and unfavorably compared him to Jane Fonda, who at least has expressed regret for her war protests. Yet another, filmed partly in Reed's living room, had the wives of former POWs criticizing Kerry's antiwar statements.

These additional efforts were made possible because the Swifties raised huge amounts of money—far more than they had thought imaginable. During the first couple of weeks of August, they were collecting $200,000 per day from Internet contributions alone. In all, they generated more than $25 million from 150,000 donors. Most of it went for TV advertising, and not just in the cheap markets.

The veterans assembled in Washington once more on October 9. This time, there were many more of them—about 90. As they had planned all along, LaCivita and Reed wanted their final ads to show that the Swifties weren't just a few disgruntled Republicans, but a broad-based movement of former servicemen who had not forgotten a vicious insult. As a dolly-driven camera moved from face to face, it quickly became apparent to any viewer that Kerry wouldn't win a majority of the votes even among his "band of brothers." The men who could claim to know him best—or at least to know best his qualifications for commander-in-chief—were saying that he didn't deserve the presidency.

In one of those final commercials, the camera paused for a moment on Bud Day. The white-haired former POW and Medal of Honor winner asked a simple question: "How can you expect our sons and daughters to follow you when you condemned their fathers and grandfathers?"

It turns out that Kerry couldn't. The tap code had gotten through. **NR**

What Did Jesus Do?

Bush wins, and the Left cries 'Eek' at religion

MICHAEL NOVAK

Two things surprise me about the Democratic Left's public response to their bitter election disappointment—and the shattering of their illusions. The first is how little they know about Christians and Christian faith; the second is the ugly stereotypes that govern their descriptions of Christians.

At the same time, two things please me. First, they are repeating the same mistakes they made before the election, virtually guaranteeing themselves still more shattered illusions; second, they are verifying that voters were not mistaken about the Left's distorted moral vision, a vision they try to force on us. The redoubtable Michael Kinsley, for instance, has declared his own moral superiority over religious people in a tone of faux self-abasement.

In a column, he wrote, "People on my side of the divide want to live in a society where women are free to choose abortion and where gay relationships have full civil equality with straight ones." *Full civil equality*: Now there's a weasel expression if I ever heard one. Marriages? Civil unions? Which?

Look, he further explains, my values "don't involve any direct imposition on you. We don't want to force you to have an abortion or to marry someone of the same gender, whereas you do want to close out these possibilities for us. Which is more arrogant?" Well, it would be a lot less arrogant if he did not put words in our mouths. After all, there are a lot of us with a wide variety of religious and moral views, even on the two questions Kinsley highlights. So let us suppose instead that *his* side would not be so extreme about abortion—would admit openly that what is killed in an abortion is an individual human being with an individual genetic code different from that of its mother. And that this unique and irreplaceable individual, if given ordinary care, would develop into a full-term human being. It would be a start.

Maybe, too, his side will back off from its present barbaric extremes, such as sucking out the brains of a fully formed baby just at the moment it begins to emerge from the womb. Maybe they will not be so extreme as to prohibit parents from knowing and consenting when their teenage daughter is to undergo an abortion (as they would, say, for an appendectomy or removal of tonsils). Maybe they would even permit abortions only up to the sixth month, and forbid them thereafter as every civilized state in Europe does (since liberals claim to admire European standards so). Maybe they would go so radically far as to require that the choice of abortion be fully informed, carefully deliberated upon, and consented to with full reflection—perhaps after a mandatory review of basic information and a specified brief period for looking into alternatives.

With each one of these steps back from extremism, reliable polling data show that the narrow circle of extreme pro-abortionists would attract more moderate citizens and begin to widen, and then widen some more, until it equaled, or even began to surpass, the number of voters on my side of the current debate. In other words, moderation of abortion extremism might turn the red tide blue. For myself, I would still argue that slavery is slavery, even if only a minority are sold into it, and that abortion is still killing a human being without that person's consent. But my side of the argument would not, in a democratic society, have the numbers on its side at this time.

So, if Kinsley truly had the voice of reason, and moderated his views accordingly, he could easily persuade most voters to his side. But his views, as stated and without qualification, are simply too extremist to do that.

Mr. Novak holds the Jewett Chair in Philosophy, Religion, and Public Policy at AEI. His new book is *The Universal Hunger for Liberty.*

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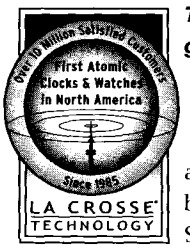

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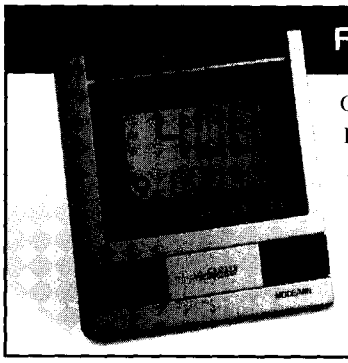

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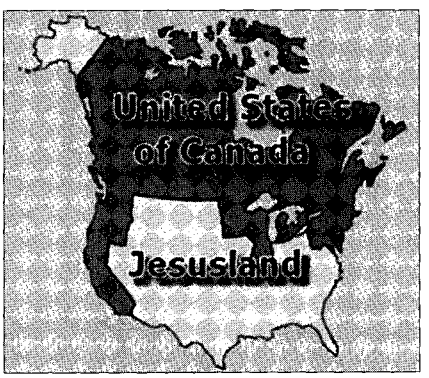
As for pretending innocently to demand *marriage* for gays without imposing anything on anybody else, surely even Michael Kinsley knows better. That could be done now only by changing the definition of marriage for everybody. For if marriage is no more than a social contract between any two individuals, it is no longer *marriage* in the sense in which the state has any interest in it. Why should the state involve itself in the personal choices of individuals, particularly in regard to something so intimate as sexual union? There are only two reasons: It recognizes the traditional religious meaning of marriage specifying that marriage includes the presence of God and His blessings on the covenant between man and wife (which lifts marriage into a realm beyond the total control of the state, and which the state by tradition and for its own reasons respects), and the procreative promise of such permanent covenants for the birthing and nourishing of future generations.



Personally, I think it morally preferable for gays as well as married straights to have permanent, exclusive relationships with each other. Unions of these two essentially different kinds have two essentially different ontological statuses, and ought to have two different legal statuses, and certainly two different names. If we could trust the courts, we might even want to call permanent, exclusive relations between two, and only two, partners of the same sex "civil unions." But the courts do not give us much reason for confidence that we can leave such matters in their hands. And these matters, in any case, properly belong to the consent of all the governed. To reach that consent, we will need to reason together, as we have at long last begun doing, with the advantage now moving (from my point of view) in the direction of the strongest arguments.

Another Kinsley point is equally offensive. "We on my side . . . don't . . . believe that our values are direct orders from God. We don't claim they are immutable and beyond argument. We are, if anything, crippled by reason and open-mindedness, by a desire to persuade rather than insist." But why, then, do liberals evade open, democratic public argument, and seek the easy way out through the courts and edicts from above? Where is your trust in your vaunted powers of persuasion and irrestistible reasoning? Where?

It is simply not the case that believing Jews and Christians are bereft of reason; their reason remains every bit as intact as Michael Kinsley's, and without his self-contradictions. In a world without God, reason alone means that the personal preferences of the thugs rule wherever the writ of their power runs.

The Democratic Left, especially in its non-believing wing, simply does not understand that for believers, reason itself is the Divine Light within each human being, and faith nourishes in us trust in that reason, and also in human experience, down many long centuries of reflection and careful argument. Not many ethical formulations have been "immutable" in the way they have been understood by people trying to be faithful to the Light given them by God. Jews and Christians have, in fact, made great progress in understanding their moral obligations, in many different fields of thought—in religious liberty, for instance.

In fact, it was the "theocratic" Baptists of what is today Jerry Falwell country who insisted on the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, the amendment that extended religious liberty to every other conscience—even that of "Mahometans," Jews, atheists, and others.

Really, fire-breathing members of the Democratic Left might be wise to cool down, and begin to meet their fellow citizens, to learn something about them. Maybe even meet them halfway. Come on, Michael, climb down from your thinly disguised elitism and arrogance, and give those on "the other side" a little respect. Just a little, please? **NR**

Catholics For Bush

It's not just the Evangelicals who bedeviled the Dems

KATE O'BEIRNE

If the Democratic party still believed in the power of prayer, it would be appealing to a merciful God to be delivered from committed Catholic laymen like Boston's former Democratic mayor Ray Flynn. This year Catholic voters led the national shift to President George Bush. While besting his 2000 showing among all voters by 3 points, he boosted his share of Catholic voters by 5 points. The state that posted the largest increase in Catholic support for Bush was Ray Flynn's Massachusetts, where it was up by a stunning 17 points over 2000. George Bush's support from Protestants in the commonwealth was down by 6 points. This year, Massachusetts Catholics, 43 percent of the electorate, gave George Bush 49 percent of their vote to their local former altar boy's 51 percent. The first Catholic presidential nominee since 1960 has another former altar boy to thank for imposing this political penance.

John Kerry's liberal allies pin all responsibility for Bush's victory on evangelical Christians, and raise a hysterical alarm with their ridiculous predictions about the coming theocracy. But faithful Catholics were no less important in the Republican victory than Evangelicals; and Democrats should worry that an increase in Catholic defections from the Democratic flock may condemn the party to political oblivion.

In this election, about 23 percent of the national electorate identified themselves as evangelical Christians. Yet Catholics made up 27 percent, and Bush went from losing these voters by 3 points in 2000 to winning them by 5 (52-47) in 2004. His margin among Catholics who attend Mass weekly was 56 to 43. In two-thirds of the battleground states, Catholicism is the dominant religion: and among Catholic voters in Ohio, for example, Bush was up

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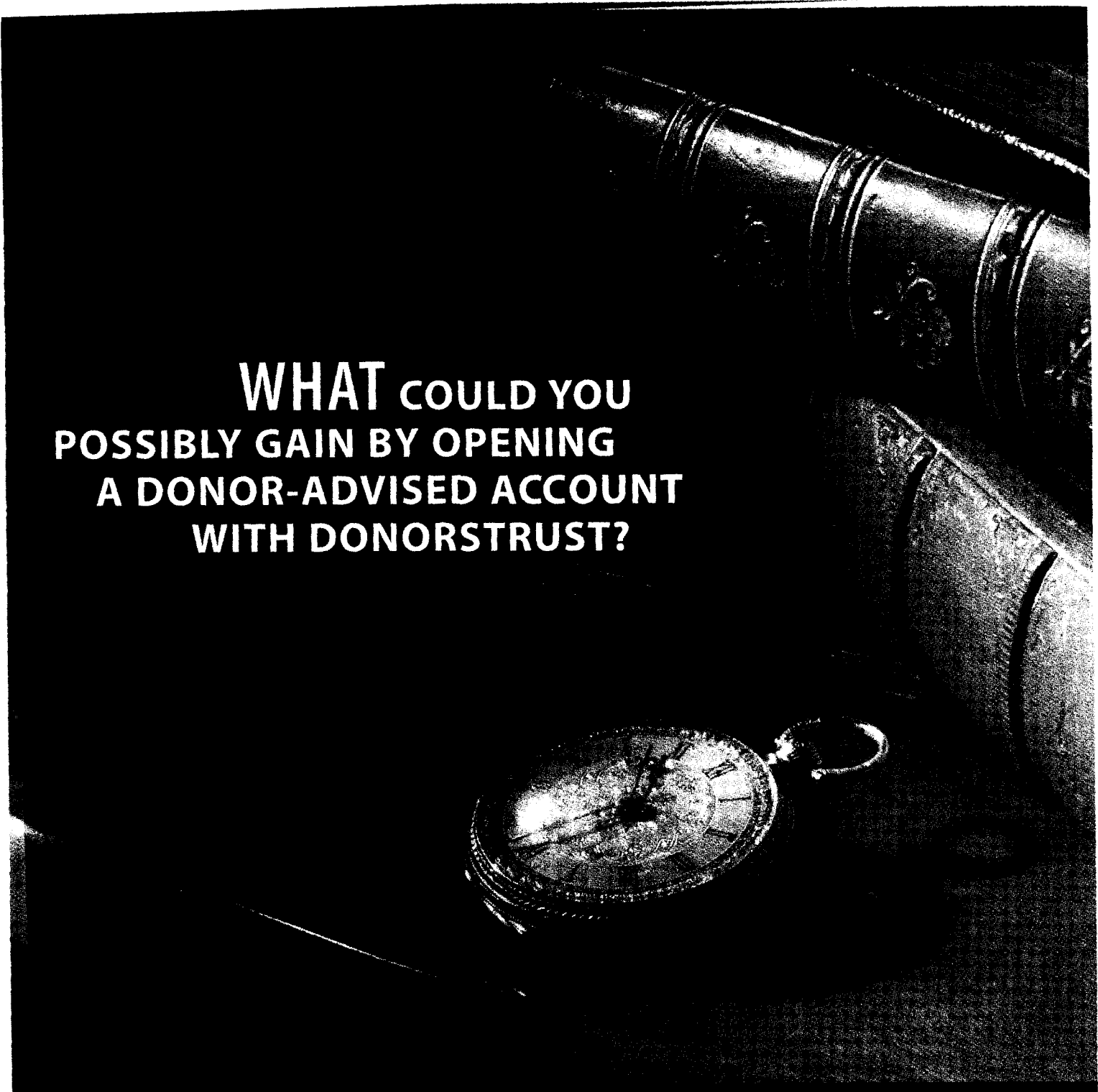

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from 50 to 55, winning 65 percent of Catholics who attend weekly services. In Florida, Bush was up from 52 to 57; in New Jersey, from 51 to 58; and up from 42 to 52 in Colorado. In each of these states, Bush's increased margin among Catholics was larger than his increase among all voters. Ray Flynn has no doubt that Catholics added significantly to the number of voters concerned about "moral values" this year.

Flynn explains that many Catholics feel as though they are under assault from a hostile culture; he explains that, because they "want to be left alone, but don't want their values ignored, . . . they are a great constituency for the Republican party if they want it."

Republicans definitely want that constituency, as evidenced by the GOP's unprecedented effort this year to woo Catholic voters. The Republican National Committee set up a website (KerryWrongforCatholics.com), hired 30 full-time field coordinators, and mobilized 55,000 volunteers to help build Catholic support for Bush. Seventy-six million voter guides were distributed to active Catholics in twelve battleground states, and ads ran in prime electoral targets like Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire.

But no Catholic vote effort had a bigger payoff than the one undertaken in Massachusetts. At the request of Boston's Archbishop Sean O'Malley, Ray Flynn secured private funding and launched an independent effort under the auspices of his nonpartisan organization—Liberty, Life and Family—to register Catholic voters and educate them on their moral responsibility to be "faithful citizens." He hired a coordinator for each of Massachusetts's four dioceses, and parish volunteers registered voters. Flynn traveled from parish to parish, meeting his fellow Catholics over coffee and donuts after Mass to urge support for policies consistent with the Church's teaching on issues like abortion and same-sex marriage. In Hispanic parishes, where Flynn found an "incredible" interest, an English-Spanish translator would convey his remarks. In one Cape Cod parish, experts made a presentation on embryonic-stem-cell research that Flynn believes effectively addressed the audience's misunderstandings. He also visited parishes in Ohio and New Hampshire.

In response to John Kerry's debate statement about his intention to appoint only judges who would uphold abortion rights, Flynn took out a full-page ad in the *New York Times* calling on his old political ally to reject any litmus test on judicial candidates that would rule out faithful Catholics.

Flynn was elected mayor of Boston in 1984, and reelected twice by record margins. He was appointed ambassador to the Vatican in 1993 by Bill Clinton. He is the kind of Catholic who was once comfortably at home in the Democratic party: Flynn opposes capital punishment; he was against the war in Iraq; he is committed to "social justice," and is a champion of the poor. But, like Pennsylvania's late Gov. Bob Casey, Flynn is staunchly opposed to abortion.

In fact, our old friend Bill McGurn calls this year's rout of Democratic candidates "Bob Casey's revenge." In 1992, the Democratic party chose to enforce an orthodoxy that relegated a popular loyal Democrat to the treatment Republicans reserve for David Duke. It mattered not that Casey had just been reelected in an important battleground state by over a million votes; nor did Democrats care that he was an exemplary "progressive" on health care, welfare, and race. His party denied him a speaking role at its convention, choosing instead to welcome six Republican women who supported abortion rights—including a Pennsylvania activist who had worked for Casey's opponent.

Flynn explains that his party has taken Democrats like him for granted because it "has been kidnapped by elites who only want us on Election Day." But he warns that the kind of blue-collar Catholics he has spent his life with are no longer reliable quadrennial Democratic allies. "The party thinks that just because a guy's an electrician or works for the gas company he will be a traditional Democrat who will ignore cultural issues, but that's not true any longer," Flynn says. "There is too much coming at them now. Abortion has been there, but now there's gay marriage, which makes them feel hopeless, and embryonic-stem-cell research."

Flynn points out that many of the Catholics who voted for Bush had reservations about his positions on some issues. "At the briefings, I would explain that we could argue over the war in Iraq or about tax cuts for the rich, and I was with them 100 percent on those issues, but in this election we have to do something different and take our Catholic values into the voting booth." The gay-marriage court decision in his own state no doubt helped Flynn to mobilize the Catholic voters who provided Bush with such a boost, but other states also saw significant Democratic defections among Catholics—leading Flynn to believe that the Massachusetts model can be exported.

"This was the perfect example of how lay Catholics should respond to the challenge of defending our values," he says. "It's not the intention to make the Church or the Bishops more political, but to make lay Catholics more involved." In Massachusetts, Archbishop O'Malley involved the right layman—and Catholics responded overwhelmingly. In Virginia—where the Bishop of Arlington carefully instructed his flock on how competing values should be weighed, and informed them about their responsibility as voters—Bush received his most decisive victory over Kerry among Catholics (63-36).

Democrats have ceded valuable red-state real estate to Republicans by writing off evangelical Christians. If they continue to dismiss the moral sentiments of millions of Catholics, they won't have a prayer in blue states, either. **NR**

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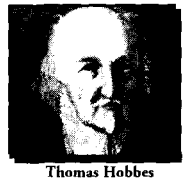
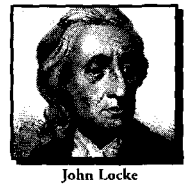

Thomas Hobbes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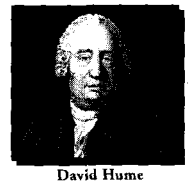
David Hume

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As an educated person, you're aware that many of the basic concepts shaping our world are barely 200 years old. Modern science, technology, democratic government, natural rights, and even a general tendency to be open to innovation are a few examples. Our society and culture take them as givens, even while we continue to debate their meanings and implications.

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Voters vs. Zogby

A once-golden pollster is tarnished

JIM GERAGHTY

NEVER mind the concession from John Kerry. The GOP ought to be demanding a concession from pollster John Zogby.

After his striking successes in 1996, when he accurately projected Bill Clinton's margin of victory as much narrower than other pollsters were expecting, and 2000, when he picked up on the late Gore surge, Zogby established himself as a brand name in polling. After not buying the Clinton hype in 1996, he became a favorite of the Right—touted by the *New York Post*, Fox News, and Rush Limbaugh. Conservatives may not have liked his assessment of the last-minute swing to Gore in 2000, but it's tough to argue with accuracy.

But somewhere along the line, whatever "secret sauce" Zogby was using in his weighting of demographics and calculations of likely voters went sour. In 2002, his final polls were pretty lousy. In Minnesota, Zogby predicted Democrat Walter Mondale over Republican Norm Coleman by 6 points; Coleman won by 3. In Colorado, Zogby picked Democrat Ted Strickland over GOP incumbent Wayne Allard by 5; Allard won by 5. In Georgia, Zogby picked Democrat Max Cleland over Republican Saxby Chambliss by 2; Chambliss won by 7. In Texas, Zogby's final poll had Republican John Cornyn over Democrat Ron Kirk by 4 points; Cornyn won by 12. Zogby's final poll in the Florida gubernatorial race had Jeb Bush winning by 15, but only three weeks earlier he had Bush winning by only 3. Bush won by 13 points.

In 2002, Zogby got the winner wrong more often than any other pollster—but those results were quickly forgotten by the media, and Zogby was able to keep dining out on his reputation as the Polling Hero of 1996 and 2000.

In 2004, Zogby became the pollster of choice for Democrats, as he always had some morsel of good news for them. In May, he boldly declared the race was Kerry's to lose, touting the myth that Kerry is a "good closer." Month after month, Zogby kept finding reassuring news for Kerry that somehow eluded other pollsters. He conducted dubious Internet-based polls of self-selected web users, and found all kinds of good news for Democrats: leads for Kerry in Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Nevada, and Florida outside the margin of error. "Don't expect any real bounce after the Republicans convene in New York later this month," he wrote in early August.

The public should have been cautious about Zogby's polling results, because even this year there was a big red dashboard light flashing a warning about Zogby's sampling: His May 19-20 telephone poll before a South Dakota special election for the House of Representatives had Democrat Stephanie Herseth leading Republican Larry Diedrich 52 percent to 41 percent. Actual results: Herseth 51, Diedrich 49.

But Tina Brown reported that the Manhattan chardonnay-and-brie crowd was abuzz over Kerry's standing in Zogby, and by fall, she was gleefully passing on any tidbit: "In October 2000, pollster John Zogby asked real voters this question, set in the Land of Oz: For president, would you vote for The Tin Man or The Scarecrow? The result: an exact tie, 46 percent to 46 percent. But this October, The Tin Man has 40 percent to The Scarecrow's 10 percent." Call off the election! Bush is losing the metaphor!

Not only did the Left insist that Zogby's good-news-for-Kerry numbers were right; all contrary results had to be wrong. This election season saw the loudest and angriest voices on the left accusing mainstream pollsters like Gallup of engaging in a vast conspiracy to understate Kerry's support. MoveOn.org, the liberal advocacy group, purchased a full-page ad in the *New York Times* denouncing Gallup's methodology as over-sampling Republicans and warning that George Gallup Jr., the son of the poll's founder, is a "devout evangelical Christian."

Late afternoon on Election Day—awfully late for a final call—Zogby predicted that Kerry would win Florida, Ohio, Iowa, and New Mexico (0 for 4!) and get at least 311 votes in the Electoral College, while Bush was assured of only 213. (The remaining 14 electoral votes were too close to call.)

ROMAN GENN

There's no other way to say it: The Big Z's final polls were garbage. His final poll had Colorado too close to call; Bush won by 7 points. He had Florida by a tenth of a percentage point for Kerry and "trending Kerry"; Bush won by 5 points. Zogby had Bush winning North Carolina by 3; the president won John Edwards's home state by 13. Zogby had Bush leading Tennessee by 4; the president won by 14. Zogby called Virginia a "slight edge" for the GOP; Bush won by 8. In West Virginia, Zogby predicted a Bush win by 4; the president won by 13. And in the vital swing state of Wisconsin, Zogby had Kerry up

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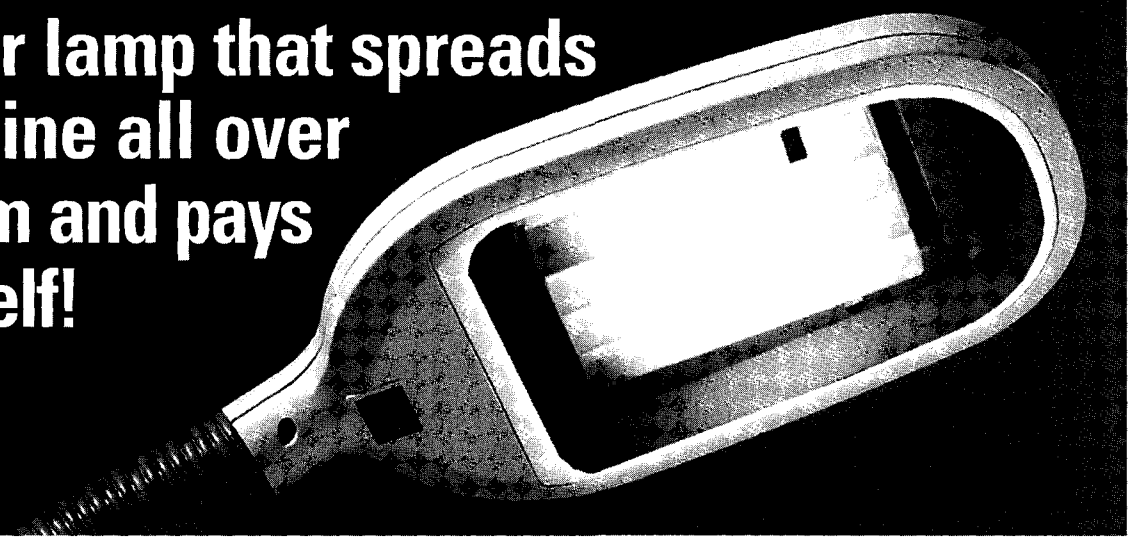


The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with an energy savings of $51 over the life of one bulb!

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

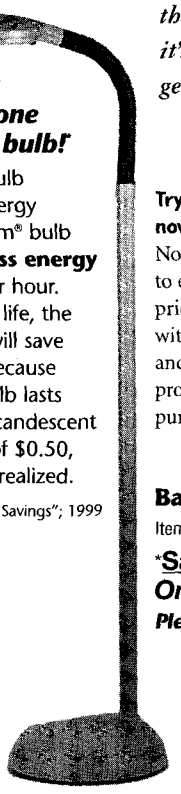
Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts ten times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

SSAVE $51 in energy cost over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!

A 150 watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 5,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$46** in energy cost. *Plus*, because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

*Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999



Height as shown: 50"

"I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair...I don't get sore eyes like I used to."

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp now at it's lowest price of less than $50!
Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your house at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

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by 6; the final margin was 1 point.

Those Zogby numbers aren't a within-the-margin-of-error measurement of the voting public. They are a DNC wish list.

Audaciously, Zogby bragged on his website after Election Day that a *New York Post* headline had said Zogby "Got It Right" and that the *Boston Globe* had called him "Largely Accurate." Zogby said his tallies reflected what happened in most states quite accurately, though he was off in Ohio and Florida.

"I do think we need to have realistic expectations for pollsters," he told Gannett. "We're there to say it's trending this way or that way. For anyone to expect we're going to get it right to one-tenth of a percent every time is unrealistic."

Larry Sabato, director of the Center for Politics at the University of Virginia, said he thinks highly of Zogby and has taught some of his younger family members. But he thinks Zogby may never recover his status as the pollster of record. "The Zogby mystique is dead," Sabato said. "For a private client, a pollster has lots of functions, but for the public a pollster only has to answer two questions: Who's ahead and who's gonna win. It's hard for me to believe that even partisans just want to hear good news. As Democrats look to 2006 and 2008, they're going to want the real story, even if it includes bad news."

This marks the third year in a row that many pollsters, not just Zogby, have dramatically underestimated GOP turnout. (Recall that in 2003, the final *L. A. Times* poll showed Arnold Schwarzenegger with 40 percent, Cruz Bustamante with 32 percent. Final result? Ah-nuld 49, Bustamante 32.) This year may have yielded the first evidence of a theory long espoused in GOP circles: that polls underestimate the strength of Republican candidates because conservative voters are more likely to tell a phoning pollster to buzz off. Joe Lenski and Warren Mitofsky, who managed the horrifically wrong Election Day exit polls, theorized that their results vastly overstated support for Kerry because Democrats were more willing to talk to pollsters after voting.

There is no joy in Leftville, as Mighty Zogby has struck out. **NR**

Mass-Hysteria Time

Following Black Tuesday—Nov. 2—Europe goes nuts

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

PRESIDENT BUSH's reelection has released a burst of mass hysteria in much of the world. It's a fascinating phenomenon. Hundreds of millions of people are convinced of the wickedness and stupidity of Americans and their president. The mood must have been similar when Peter the Hermit was whipping up the Popular Crusade in the Dark Ages, and later when the Albigensian heretics, or the Levellers of the English civil war, were drumming the idea of apocalypse into the heads of audiences eager to believe it.

The thrill of apocalypse this time begins in America, when writers of the status of Garry Wills tell the world that Americans have gone back on the liberal values of 18th-century Enlightenment; or when Democrats fill the correspondence columns of the European press with letters about Republican horrors. The globalized media scoop up these symptoms instantly, magnify them, and presto—mass hysteria infects people in the manner of an epidemic.

See how easily it's done. A cinema wardrobe assistant by the name of Caroline Gandon is sitting in a Paris café when up comes a correspondent from the *Daily Telegraph*. She tells him, "I thought the Americans were going to show the world that they are not completely brainwashed. I was wrong. We're stuck yet again with a dangerous fanatic," and a million or two readers nod. On Britain's Channel 4, Peter Oborne, political editor of the nominally conservative *Spectator*, condemns American voters as "ignorant beyond belief," concluding, "We should be very afraid."

Anatole Kaletsky, usually a sober commentator in Rupert Murdoch's *Times*, declares himself "disappointed, and even horrified" by Bush's reelection. The consolation, however, is that Bush is likely to endure a military or economic crisis that will destroy the Republican party for good. The *Daily Mirror*, a tabloid with a huge circulation, shrieks on its front page: "How can 59,054,087 people be so DUMB?" On one television show, a man in the audience likens Bush to Hitler, and on another, some minor celebrity is solidly applauded for sneering that Americans have chosen "a psychopathic idiot to rule the world."

Le Monde is a grey Parisian lady that makes the *New York Times* seem a Technicolor glory. On November 3 its star Daniel Vernet published an article on the front page with the title, "The Europeans Find Themselves Facing a New Challenge." To a man, he asserted confidently, Europeans would have voted for Kerry, and their disappointment is specially acute because "detestation of the president" prevailed in governments and public opinion everywhere.

The secret dread of all concerned is that the Americans have no choice except to fight the War on Terror, and this is bound soon to involve them too. It's getting closer. One day there are almost 200 dead in terror attacks in Madrid, and another day in Holland—the epitome of anything-goes tolerance—a filmmaker who dared to criticize Muslim treatment of women is killed and almost decapitated in the street.

Europeans do not really believe that they should—or will—ever have to go to war again, and their governments accordingly have scaled down their militaries to levels more appropriate for police work. Continental Europe might very well succumb to an invasion by a really large army, say from Algeria or Turkey or specially a nuclear-armed Iran. Had 9/11 been directed against a target anywhere in Europe, the victim country would never have been able to take any sort of military measures to destroy the Taliban. This impotence conditions the whole culture to defeatism and appeasement, and makes America seem frightening in its insistence on standing up for itself. The Swedish prime minister, Goeran Persson, reflected this culture when he said, "Europe will continue to criticize Bush the same way as earlier," but in view of the president's new mandate, "I do not believe that he

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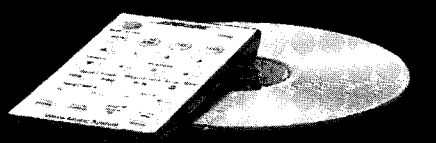

ITS HERITAGE *Popular Science* called the original Bose Wave radio "a sonic marvel." The *Chicago Tribune* said its sound was "superb." And *Forbes ASAP* magazine placed it on their "All-Time A-List" of technology breakthroughs that have changed the world. Now, the award-winning predecessor has been engineered to a new standard of performance, simplicity, and elegance.

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will be more willing to listen."

In France, the bacillus of mass hysteria is carefully cultivated at the top. Jacques Chirac attacked Bush's victory so swiftly and directly that it amounted to a declaration of political and cultural war. He said, "It is evident that Europe, now more than ever, must strengthen its unity and dynamism when faced with this great world power. More than ever, we must reinforce Europe politically and economically." In reality, neither unity nor dynamism is to be found anywhere on the continent. Instability in Iraq instead offers France a chance to increase its own influence and to harm the United States.

A long-term policy is coming to a head. When the Soviet Union began to fail 20 years ago, France saw an opportunity to replace it in the Middle East. Supposedly the Europeans and the Arabs were to come together in a bloc, a superpower to counter the United States. As a means to this end, Chirac was always glad to give unconditional support to Saddam Hussein.

Only hours after Bush's victory, Chirac was due to meet Iraqi prime minister Iyad Allawi over a working lunch in the EU capital of Brussels. Suddenly he discovered that he had to attend the funeral of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, these past 40 years the absolute ruler of Abu Dhabi, a Gulf emirate where Beau Geste and the French Foreign Legion never penetrated. Allawi was being deliberately snubbed as the wrong kind of Arab in Chirac's eyes.

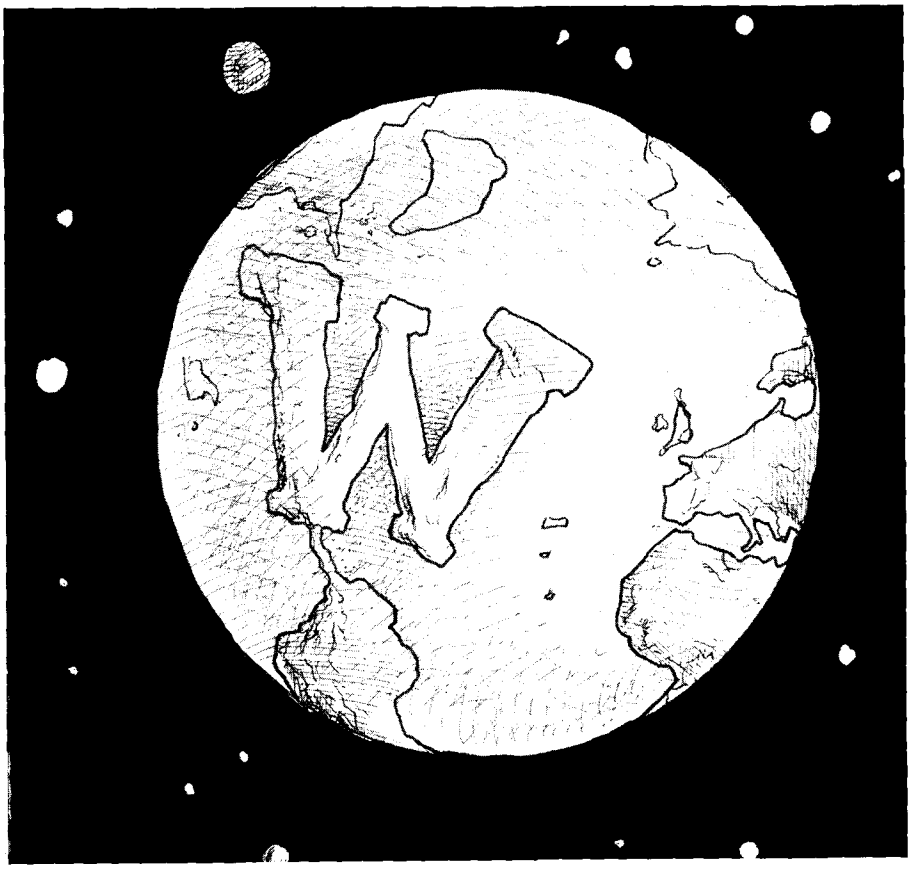
In a fine example of double standards, Chirac is quite prepared to use force when he judges it in the national interest—as now in the Ivory Coast—but he and his government are making it clear that they condemn Americans using force in their national interest in Fallujah or anywhere else. Evidently they are encouraging the Sunnis of Iraq at the very least not to participate in next January's election and so ensure failure to normalize the country.

The French have similarly done their best to inherit Arafat and the PLO from the defunct Soviet Union. Time and again, Arafat has been an honored guest at the Elysée, and time and again France has rescued him from the consequences of his grievous and bloody misjudgments, including the enthusiasm for Saddam that he shared with the French. Thanks to France, the EU taxpayer has liberally financed the Palestinian Authority, in the process slipping untold millions of dollars into Arafat's unaudited and invisible accounts. The moment local doctors announced that Arafat was suffering from some illness they couldn't diagnose, Chirac stepped in. He sent a military plane to fetch Arafat, he arranged for him to be treated in the French military hospital on the outskirts of Paris, and at the head of a motorcade he made a much-publicized bedside visit.

The clamor instantly arises from all sides for a renewed "peace process." Muslims are said to be so distraught by the issue of Palestine that everywhere they turn into terrorists. But when "peace process" was put into practice with the Oslo Accords, it turned out to be a euphemism for appeasement of Palestinian terror, and it therefore failed disastrously.

A village despot by the standards of Saddam Hussein, Arafat nonetheless has prudently made sure to have no obvious successor. Civil war, anarchy, and a seizure of power by Islamists such as Hamas are very real dangers for the Palestinians. They are going to have to undertake some profound soul-searching in order to overcome Arafat's legacy of hatred and violence. To clamor now for a repeat of the experience of "peace process" is bad diplomacy, weakening President Bush's ability to spend some of his acclaimed new political capital on the Palestinian state he rightly wants to see established in the end. And more than that, "peace process" at all costs is evidence of the belief that terrorists don't have to be fought but can be brought round by nice words.

One other thing hangs over the president's second term, and that's the fate of the remaining countries of the Axis of Evil. This is discussed only in the corridors of power and other dark places, and nobody seems to have ideas about what's to be done, if anything. The Europeans naturally advocate appeasement. A military solution may be impossible politically or logistically, in which case the world looks likely to have to live once more with Mutual Assured Destruction, this time in the hands of a Korean Stalinist and half a dozen Iranian ayatollahs. Whatever happens, another bout of mass hysteria about George W. Bush is surely in the offing. **NR**



ROMAN GENN

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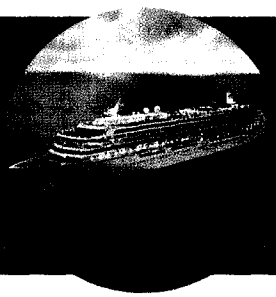
A TRUE ONCE-IN-A-LIFETIME EXPERIENCE: THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2005

British Isles Cruise



A spectacular way to celebrate NR's 50th Anniversary sailing July 10-21 aboard Crystal Cruise' stunning *Symphony* with

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR., legal scholar ROBERT BORK, historian PAUL JOHNSON, author PEGGY NOONAN, economist LAWRENCE KUDLOW, and *NR* Editors RICH LOWRY, KATE O'BEIRNE, JAY NORDLINGER, JOHN O'SULLIVAN and DAVID PRYCE-JONES, visiting

LONDON/DOVER, WATERFORD, DUBLIN, LIVERPOOL, BELFAST, LEITH/EDINBURGH, and ST. PETER PORT/GUERNSEY

Join us on an exceptional voyage helping mark the 50th anniversary of your favorite conservative magazine: the **National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise**. Featuring top conservative celebrities, and a truly spectacular itinerary—London/Dover, Waterford, Dublin, Belfast, Liverpool, Leith/Edinburgh, and St. Peter Port (on the Isle of Guernsey)—this special trip will take place July 10–21, 2005, aboard Crystal Cruise's stunning 5-star *Crystal Symphony*.

What an adventure it will be! Alongside *National Review* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.** for eleven days of unrivaled conservative revelry will be **Lawrence Kudlow**, the happy supply-side warrior and star of CNBC's *Kudlow and Cramer*; **Robert Bork**, the acclaimed jurist and legal scholar; **Peggy Noonan**, author, essayist, and commentator supreme; **Paul Johnson**, the renowned historian (his *Modern Times* remains a classic); **David Pryce-Jones**—*NR*'s Senior Editor and renowned Middle East expert (his essential books include *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*), as well as *NR* Editor Rich Lowry, Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne, Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger, and Editor-at-Large John O'Sullivan.

PHENOMENAL PORTS

The **National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise** launches July 10 from Dover, home of the famous White Cliffs. There you will board the luxurious *Crystal Symphony* and depart for ten days of unrivalled cruising, stopping at some of the most famous and must-visit ports in Europe.

After a first day at sea (when we'll hold two of our six planned, and always exciting and scintillating, seminar sessions, where our all-star cast of speakers will mix it up amongst themselves, and with you, as they tackle current events and trends), the *Crystal Symphony* will head to Ireland and make its first port stop at beautiful **Waterford**. Founded in the 9th century, this charming city on the banks of the River Sui is the perfect gateway for a host of sightseeing opportunities, from rolling green countryside to traditional villages, castles, and abbeys—and of course the renowned crystal works.

The next day we visit Dublin, Ireland's historic capital, and one of the loveliest settings in Europe. Craggy Howth Head shelters the natural harbor at Dublin Bay and the

(continued next page)

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gurgling River Liffey flows through the center of town. Those of Irish heritage will know what to do when visiting this history-drenched city, and the rest can be Irish for a day (especially at a lively pub where an elbow can be bent and many a story appreciated!).

The following day the *Symphony* will cross the Irish Sea to visit **Liverpool**, so tied to our own nation's history, as the riches of the Americas and the West Indies flowed through this great city's docks and marketplaces. There's a full day to enjoy the Town Hall, the Walker Art Gallery, or the delights of the restored Albert Dock, with its classy shops and maritime museum. And Fab Four fans can visit the homes of local-boys-make-good music legends John Lennon and Paul McCartney!

The following day (July 15) we cross back to Ireland, and the northern capital of **Belfast**. While "the Troubles" are still troubling, they have settled down to the point that enjoyable visits to Northern Ireland are . . . no trouble at all. Belfast is well worth the trip: Merely a village in the 17th century, it grew mightily during the Industrial Revolution, and with growth came beauty: Ornate Victorian homes and grand Edwardian civic buildings line the streets. The city also has many quaint lanes populated by pubs and boutiques dressed with overflowing window boxes and brightly painted doors.

After four full days of unrivaled sightseeing, another day "at sea" awaits, and with it come two more exciting seminar sessions while the *Crystal Symphony* sails past the Hebrides and Orkney, through the North Sea and into the famed Firth of Forth, destined for a day-and-a-half stop at Leith and stunning **Edinburgh**, the capital of Scotland. Dominated by a medieval castle on a towering crag, Edinburgh boasts more than a thousand years of vibrant historical heritage.

There is so much to see here, and you will be seeing it as *National Review*, as a special gift to you, will be providing a free and delightful Highlights of Edinburgh tour (including a sumptuous lunch at a traditional Scottish restaurant). Before leaving, make sure you have seen all the top attractions. The Exchange building, the Customs House, the Town Hall, and the Church of St. Mary's are only a few of the architectural masterpieces found here, and visits to the Scotch Malt Whiskey Society, and the Royal Yacht *Britannia* (docked in Leith), and the stunning Royal Botanic Garden are *musts*.

Following Edinburgh, the *Crystal Symphony* will again spend a day at sea—which means two more wonderful seminar sessions. Then we will visit **St. Peter Port**, on Guernsey. A mere 25 square miles in size, this charming island and its capital offer many enticing attractions. Although geographically closer to France, it has remained staunchly British and its diverse culture reflects the best of both worlds. Enjoy the pastel-colored houses rising layer upon layer behind St. Peter Port, and the city's "Old Quarter" is worth a saunter, if only to discover a wealth of activities centering around goldsmiths, silversmiths, wood carvers, and clockmakers (it's a wonderful place to shop and pick up a memento of this incredible trip!). From there it is back to Dover on the 21st, and the flight home carrying with you memories that will last a lifetime.

SEMINARS, DINING WITH SPEAKERS, PARTIES ELEVEN DAYS THAT WILL SHAKE YOUR WORLD!

The top reason the "typical" *NR* cruiser sails with us (again and again and again!) is to attend the seminar sessions featuring our guest speakers and editorial all stars. On the **National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise**, six scintillating panel sessions are planned: We'll dsicuss current events, the War on Terror, U.S.-European relations, inside-the-Beltway politics, and so much more. On deck for these lively affairs (where there's always plenty of time for Q & A) are a tremendous cast of knowledgeable, authoritative, and, yes, very entertaining conservatives:

✔ No one can make more sense of the U.S. economy, or what ridiculous government policy is hurting it, or it's impact on politics and Capitol Hill, than **Larry Kudlow**!

✔ What Kudlow is to the economy, **Robert Bork** is to jurisprudence. He take on the Supreme Court (a new spate of key rulings will be out by next July) and renegade judges is second to none.

✔ Meanwhile the revered commentator, **Peggy Noonan**, will be providing her refreshing and thoughtful views on the culture and key American figures.

✔ The esteemed historian **Paul Johnson** brings such an informed anal-

11 EXCHANGE DAYS SHOULD ADD UP TO A ONCE-IN-A-LIFETIME EXPERIENCE!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SUN/July 10	Dover (from London)		6:00 PM	
MON/July 11	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
TUES/July 12	Waterford	8:00AM	6:00PM	
WED/July 13	Dublin	8:00AM	6:00PM	late-night H. Upmann smoker
THURS/July 14	Liverpool	7:00AM	8:00PM	evening cocktail reception
FRI/July 15	Belfast	8:00AM	10:00PM	
SAT/July 16	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
SUN/July 17	Edinburgh	8:00AM		overnight
MON/July 18	Edinburgh		6:00PM	
TUES/July 19	AT SEA			morning & afternoon seminars late-night H. Upmann smoker
WED/July 20	St. Peter Port	8:00AM	5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/July 21	Dover	7:00AM		

***CONDÉ NAST TRAVELER*'S DISCRIMINATING READERS VOTE CRYSTAL 'WORLD'S BEST LARGE-SHIP CRUISE LINE' FOR NINTH CONSECUTIVE Y**

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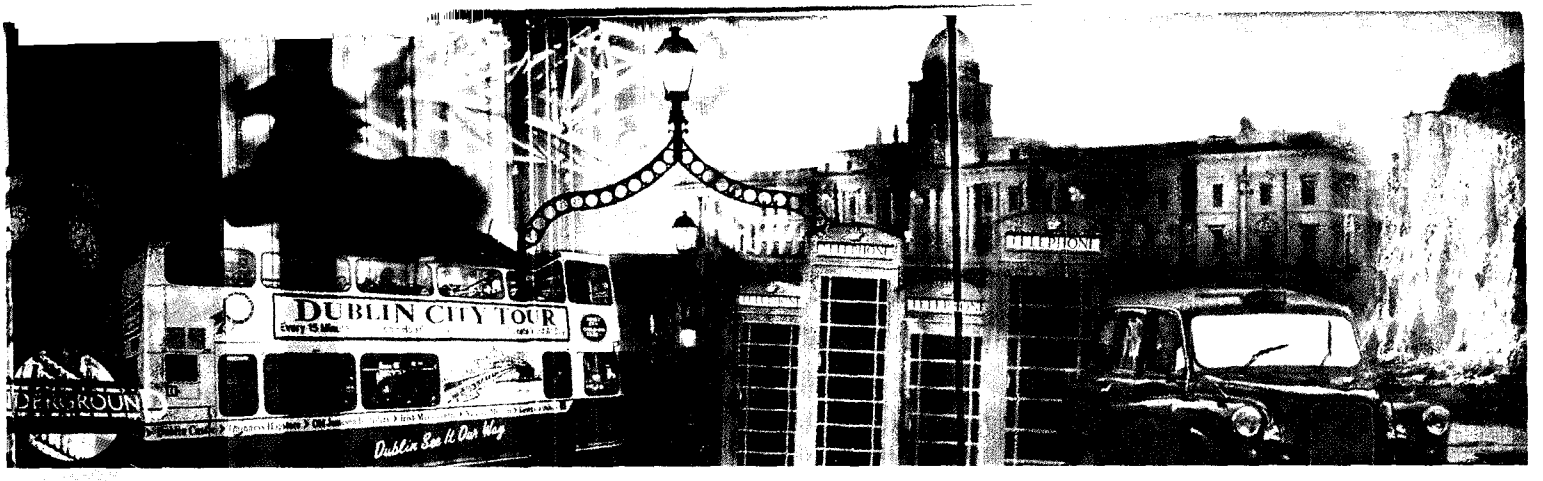


sis of current events—he sees them in the sweep of centuries and millenia—that he is truly indispensible. It's a joy that he'll be sailing with us!

✓ The same goes **David Pryce-Jones**, unrivaled as an expert on the Middle East. His take on radical Islam, and its consequences for the West, is chilling—you must hear it.

✓ And then there is **Bill Buckley**, the founder of *NR* and modern conservatism and—well, there's not enough space to list his numerous accomplishments. Spending eleven glorious days visiting the British Isles with him and *NR*'s editors—**Kate O'Beirne**, **Rich Lowry**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and **John O'Sullivan** (is there a single subject on which at least one of these great writers isn't an expert?!)—while discussing the most pressing concerns is the perfect way to celebrate the half-century mark of the brazen and influential fortnightly he founded in 1955!

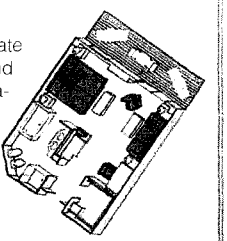
In addition to the seminars, there is all the hoopla and fun and revelry that mark an *NR* voyage: This trip will feature three wonderful cocktail receptions (always a great opportunity to talk directly with our guest speakers and get a photo or two or ten taken with them), two late-night, pool-side smokers (a world-class **H. Upmann** cigar, a snifter of cognac, new friends, delightful conversation—this is the life!), and finally, on at least two nights, intimate dining, over a gourmet meal, with our editors and guest speakers!

And then there is the ship, the *Crystal Symphony*—with so many amenities, so much luxury, so many programs and ways to have the best eleven days of your life! That's exactly what you'd expect of Crystal: For the ninth year running it has been voted the "World's Best Large-Ship Cruise Line" by the authoritative readers of *Condé Nast Traveler* and *Travel + Leisure* magazines.

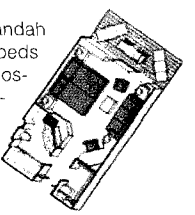
The **National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise** is sure to be one of our best seafaring experiences ever. ou must be there as we celebrate NR's 50th anniversary year—with William F. Buckley Jr., Robert Bork, Larry Kudlow, Paul ohnson, Kate O'Beirne, David Pryce-Jones, Rich owry, Jay Nordlinger, and John O'Sullivan (and ve're still awaiting RSVPs from other top celebrities)—traveling to some of the most desired spots on the historic British Isles. Sign up today: Use the application form on the next page to reserve the (beautiful!) stateroom of your choice, or visit us at www.nrcruise.com to get more information and to make that reservation immediate.

See you next July on the **National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise**!

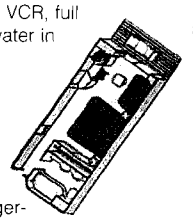
For the ninth year in a row, Crystal Cruises has been voted the "World's Best Large-Ship Cruise Line" by the readers of *Travel + Leisure* and *Condé Nast Traveler*! Seasoned travelers call Crystal the best, and praise the superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment that you will experience on the *Symphony*, the floating paradise that will host our voyage. Prices are based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, and transfers for those booking airfare through Crystal Cruises, plus all meals, entertainment, and admission to and participation in all *NR* functions. (Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: for those age 6 months to 11 years, $1,920; for those 12 years and above, $3,515). Early-payment discounts and even additional discounts for Crystal alumni.



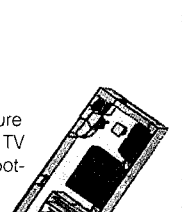
PENTHOUSE SUITE Grand stateroom (491 square feet) features large private verandah and spacious living area, personal butler service, remote color TV and VCR, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, full Jacuzzi bathtub, separate shower, bidet, walk-in closet, refrigerator, complimentary wine plus choice of liquor from set menu upon embarkation, complimentary soft drink, beer, and bottled water in cabin. Penthouse Deck.
Category PH
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 14,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 27,999



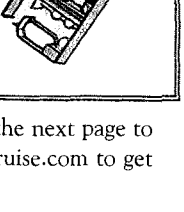
PENTHOUSE Spacious stateroom (367 square feet) features large private verandah and sizeable living area, personal butler service, remote color TV/VCR, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, full Jacuzzi bathtub, separate shower, walk-in closet, refrigerator, complimentary wine plus choice of liquor upon embarkation, complimentary soft drink, beer, and bottled water in cabin. Penthouse Deck.
Category PH
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 16,799



VERANDAH STATEROOM Large cabin (246 square feet) features private verandah, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks and bottled water in cabin. Horizon Deck.
Category B
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 8,999



DELUXE STATEROOM Comfortable cabin (202 square feet) features large picture window with sweeping views, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks and bottled water in cabin. Promenade Deck.
Category C
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,999



DELUXE STATEROOM Comfortable cabin (202 square feet) features large picture window, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks/bottled water in cabin. Window views limited/obstructed. Promenade Deck.
Category E
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

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The National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Name #1 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate | Shirt Size (S-XXL)

Name #1 Citizenship | Passport Number | Expiration Date

Name #2 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate | Shirt Size (S-XXL)

Name #2 Citizenship | Passport Number | Expiration Date

Name #3 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate | Shirt Size (S-XXL)

Name #3 Citizenship | Passport Number | Expiration Date

Street Mailing Address

City | State | ZIP

( ) Daytime Phone

Email address

Payment

A deposit of $2,000 **per cabin** is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to *same* card on 4/8/05 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 8/14/04, the full amount of cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ $2,000 **per cabin** deposit is included (checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to February 8, 2005 you will be charged $75 per person.* FROM *February 8–April 8, you will be charged $500 per person.* AFTER *April 8 the penalty is100% of cruise/package.*

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.) **PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!**

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

If we cannot arrange a roommate or if a roommate cancels, single rates will apply.

II. ARE YOU A CRYSTAL PAST GUEST/CRYSTAL SOCIETY MEMBER?

☐ Yes, Crystal Society # _____

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from London/Dover.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

Class of Service: ☐ Coach ☐ Business Class

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport/train to the ship at $75 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

DINING: I wish to dine with _____

Frequency: ☐ Every Night ☐ 3-4 nights ☐ Just once

Please note that there is no smoking permitted in the Crystal Symphony *dining room.*

DINNER: ☐ 8:00PM ☐ 6:00PM (this conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

SPECIAL EVENTS/MEDICAL ISSUES: Are there any special events or medical situations we should know about? _____

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of your flight and the *Crystal Symphony.*

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of *National Review*, as agency for Crystal Cruises (CCL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, acts of terrorism, acts of war, declared or undeclared, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, acts of war declared or undeclared, acts of terrorism, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by CCL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of CCL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, acts of war, declared or undeclared, acts of terrorism, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor NR shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL TO/FROM LONDON: Crystal Cruise's "Fly Cruise" Program lets you simplify your air travel arrangements, offering convenient and affordable round-trip Coach and Business-Class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class)—including all baggage and transfers to/from the *Crystal Symphony*—from the following home "gateway" cities (rates are per-person):

City	Coach	Business
Albany, NY	1409	3649
Albuquerque, NM	1199	4199
Amarillo,TX	1179	3979
Anchorage, AK	1299	4499
Atlanta, GA	1089	3689
Austin, TX	1109	3909
Baltimore, MD	999	3599
Billings, MT	1119	4119
Birmingham, AL	1049	3849
Boise, ID	1119	4119
Boston, MA	929	3529
Bozeman, MT	1119	4119
Buffalo, NY	1029	3629
Charleston, SC	1029	3629
Charlotte, NC	1029	3629
Chicago, IL	1059	3859
Cincinnati, OH	989	3789
Cleveland, OH	1029	3829
Col. Springs, CO	1119	3999
Columbus, OH	1029	3829
Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	1059	3859
Denver, CO	1149	3949
Des Moines, IA	1049	3849
Detroit, MI	1109	3909
El Paso, TX	1099	3899
Fresno, CA	1109	4109
Ft. Lauderdale, FL	999	3599
Ft. Myers, FL	1049	3649
Greensboro, NC	1099	3699
Greenville-Spar., SC	1099	3699
Hartford, CT	1049	3649
Honolulu, HI	1449	4649
Houston, TX	1059	3859
Huntsville, AL	1059	3859
Indianapolis, IN	1079	3879
Jackson, MS	1199	3999
Jacksonville, FL	1059	3659
Kansas City, MO	1049	3849
Knoxville, TN	1029	3829
Las Vegas, NV	1049	4049
Little Rock, AR	1149	3949
Los Angeles, CA	1049	4049
Louisville, KY	1029	3829
Lubbock, TX	1179	3979
McAllen, TX	1189	3989
Memphis, TN	1099	3899
Miami, FL	1029	3629
Midland/Odessa, TX	1189	3989
Milwaukee, WI	1099	3899
Minn./St. Paul, MN	1039	3839
Mobile, AL	1119	3919
Nashville, TN	1099	3899
New Orleans, LA	999	3799
New York, NY (JFK)	879	3479
Newark, NJ	879	3479
Norfolk, VA	1029	3629
Oklahoma City, OK	1099	3899
Omaha, NE	1099	3899
Orlando, FL	1049	3649
Pensacola, FL	1159	3759
Philadelphia, PA	979	3579
Phoenix, AZ	1139	4139
Pittsburgh, PA	979	3579
Portland, OR	1039	4039
Raleigh/Durham, NC	1029	3629
Reno, NV	1099	4099
Richmond, VA	999	3599
Rochester, NY	1049	3649
Sacramento, CA	1149	4149
Salt Lake City, UT	1029	4029
San Antonio, TX	1149	3949
San Diego, CA	1029	4029
San Francisco, CA	1099	4099
Savannah, GA	1029	3629
Seattle/Tacoma, WA	1139	4139
Shreveport, LA	1139	3939
Spokane, WA	1099	4099
St. Louis, MO	999	3799
Syracuse, NY	1049	3649
Tampa, FL	1049	3649
Tucson, AZ	1109	4109
Tulsa, OK	1099	3899
Wash. DC (Dulles)	1039	3639
W. Palm Beach, FL	1029	3629
Wichita, KS	1159	3959
CANADA ($USD)		
Edmonton	1099	4099
Montreal	919	3519
Vancouver	1099	4099
Winnipeg	1099	4099
Calgary	1099	4099
Toronto	979	3579

IMPORTANT NOTES: **1.** These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. **2.** All U.S. and Canadian flights will depart on July 9, 2005 for an overnight flight. **3.** Business Class air applies only to the trans-Atlantic leg of the trip. Domestic legs will be coach class. **4.** Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that the transfer from the London area airports (Gatwick or Heathrow) or Victoria Station to the *Crystal Symphony* (Dover, England) are not included, but are available for purchase at $75 pp. Note that it is approximately a 2.5 hour transfer from the airports or Victoria Station to the *Crystal Symphony* in Dover. Return flights from London should not be arranged before 2:00PM on July 21, 2005. Retrun flights from the ship to airports or hotel may be purchased on board at $75 pp. **5.** Should you purchase the air from Crystal Cruise as described above, and wish to deviate from the air schedule desingated by Crystal Cruises, there is no charge for changes made prior to April 8, 2005. After that date, a *non-refundable charge* of $50 pp will be incurred for this service. All requests for air deviations must be made *in writing* to The Cruise Authority. **6.** Every effort will be made to assign the best seating possible, however any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure.

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The Real Deal

You can test-market a candidate to death, but that doesn't mean you can sell him

ROB LONG

Let me tell you a story about a French fry.

Years ago, in a bid to snatch market share from the McDonald's Corporation, their bitter rival Burger King zeroed in on the key battleground. It was all in the Fry-o-lator. People, according to Burger King's extensive market research, preferred the McDonald's fry to any other, and furthermore, they made their fast-food choices based entirely on that. It wasn't, as the Burger Kings had deluded themselves for years, a Whopper-vs.-Big Mac situation at all. It was fry against fry.

Simple solution: make a better fry. Which they set about doing, in a flurry of focus groups, poll-takings, test kitchen fry-offs, shopping-mall surveys, and more focus groups. People wanted crispy; they wanted mushy; they wanted salty; they wanted golden brown. Millions of dollars were spent developing the perfect salty mushy crispy golden brown French fry, and when you spend millions of dollars to make a better fry, I'm here to tell you, *you make a better fry*. They had the focus groups to prove it, too. Surveys and side-by-side comparisons and blind taste tests proved—*proved, scientifically*—that the perfectly engineered new Burger King French fry was better tasting, and more appealing, than its arch-competitor's. People, it was asserted confidently, prefer the Burger King Corporation processed fried potato product over the McDonald's Corporation processed fried potato product by a ratio of five to one.

Except they didn't. Actually, they found the fries weird and doughy, which must have come as a shock to the Burger King corporate muckety-mucks, who were assured by their market-research Special Ops team that it was a no-brainer. If you close your eyes, you can almost imagine the scene: a long conference table of grim suits, staring at a PowerPoint slide that shows Burger King sales actually *dropping* owing to the introduction of the most popular fry ever; and in front, clearing their throats nervously, the marketing guys—in their bold-patterned shirts and interesting blazers—thinking *salads? Mini pizzas? Cajun-spiced chicken strips? Get me out of here.*

That's all a long-winded way of saying: So the Election Day exit polls were wrong? No kidding.

I'm 39 years old, and the flecks of gray I have in my hair are entirely the result of standing behind a one-way mirror, watching a statistically meaningful sample of Americans focus-group my latest television sitcom. I have watched an older lady list the deficiencies of my work with deadly precision, only to insist later that the show was "cute" and that she will "tune in, definitely." I have watched a young man quickly change his opinion to more closely match that of the attractive young woman in the room. But mostly, over the years, I've noticed this trend: Americans—ordinary, plumpish, T-shirted Americans—are all becoming marketing insiders. The last time I was at a focus group, when the moderator asked the assembly to give their impressions of the show they had just screened, one lady perked up, "I think this is really going to play well for people." The rest of the group nodded. Then an older man chimed in, "I'm not sure some of the characters are likable enough yet, for most people." And a young girl added, "I would predict that there's some appeal here for kids my age."

"No, no," the moderator said. "I'm not asking you to predict how other people will feel, I'm asking you what *you* feel."

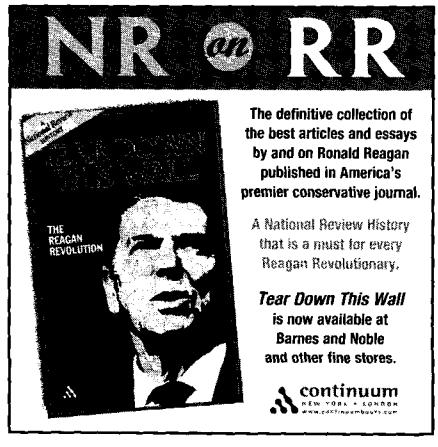
The crowd looked at her blankly. What?

This would be funny—and maybe *is* funny to you—if you didn't, unlike some of us, have hanging in the balance an entire television series, with its promise of riches and faraway houses. Because if you do, it suddenly becomes clear that the entire system of gathering, analyzing, measuring, and responding to American public opinion is seriously, totally haywire.

On Election Day, John Kerry became the latest victim of the Fry-o-lator, and he was tossed in there to pop and sizzle along with Dan Rather, Judy Woodruff, and the rest of the clever network-news gang who tried, pathetically, to figure out what was up with the American people. Theirs is the Burger King model: ask a lot of people a lot of questions, tabulate the results, march forward. Thus, John Kerry's robotic, relentless I-served-in-Vietnam jag; thus his creepy insistence that he and President Bush have the "same position" on gay marriage. "Same position," he repeated during the third debate, because "same position" tests great, and so do "I served in Vietnam" and "I'll kill terrorists" and "I pray a great deal" and all of the other foreign phrases that came out of his mouth.

On Election Day, John Kerry became the latest victim of the Fry-o-lator.

Nobody bought it, of course—despite its crispy crunchy mushy saltiness—because Americans are all junior marketing executives these days, and when you ask them to rank the key issues they're concerned about, they instead rank the key issues they think *Americans* care about. This is why the "key issues" section of any national poll is guaranteed to freak out campaign operatives of all stripes, because the results are so . . . inconclusive. So slippery. The point is, the Super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Perfected Burger King French Fries *tested* well. People preferred them, they said when asked, for their superior crunchiness and taste. But they didn't sell, because when people drove by the Burger King feeling hungry, they found that the McDonald's down the street was somehow more attractive and promising.

Poor John Kerry spent hundreds of millions of dollars trying to convince American voters that he and they agreed on almost everything. An odd approach, really—because if you've got $300 million and you're John Kerry, you'd make a better showing if you spent the money trying to *persuade* voters to change their minds about, say, the war in Iraq. Americans do change their minds—often, actually—and they tend to respect the direct, head-on approach a lot more than the sidling-along, hey-buddy-you-and-me-are-peas-in-a-pod appeal of the Democratic campaign-strategy brain trust.

Of course, certainty is a powerful opiate. And when you're flying around the country in a blur of rope lines and stump speeches, it must be nice to lean back in the campaign plane and listen to a smarty-pants marketing executive explain how it can be *proven, scientifically*, that Americans prefer your brand of tax cut to your rival's by a factor of, say, five. These are America's favorite fries, sir, and we have the data to back that up. One hopes, for the sake of tax rates if for nothing else, that the current jubilation among Republicans does not lead them to sift through poll data and focus-group results for proof that a certain clutch of issues, or a certain alignment of salty crispy golden brown mushiness, means an unbroken horizon of Republican victories is in the bag. Don't ask for whom the Fry-o-lator sizzles. It sizzles for thee.

I'm not saying that presidents are sort of like French fries. I'm saying that presidents are *exactly* like French fries. We choose them for all sorts of reasons, which change, of course, depending on how hungry we are. What we don't do, however, is pick them based on a list of issues that we surrender up to a pollster or focus-group moderator. And this, naturally, makes the job of running a presidential campaign really difficult.

Or maybe it makes it really easy. **NR**

ROMAN GENN

Button It

Wearing your political heart on your sleeve—or your lapel, wherever

JAY NORDLINGER

WEDNESDAY morning brought an unusual sight: the sight of no Kerry-Edwards buttons. I'm talking about Manhattan, and I'm talking about the day after the election. For the previous weeks, the city had been a sea of Kerry-Edwards buttons, buttons everywhere, including in concert halls and opera houses (where I spend many evenings, as a critic).

At first, the buttons were sort of a trickle; then they gushed. Night after night, I'd be surrounded by Kerry-Edwards buttons, in Carnegie Hall, in the Metropolitan Opera House—wherever. And not once did I spot a Bush-Cheney button. Initially, I was sort of amused by the buttons, but, later, sort of annoyed. Why were these people wearing them, anyway? Didn't they realize that everyone else was voting for Kerry and Edwards too? (Ahem—almost everyone else.) Surely they didn't have to persuade anybody; their fellows were already persuaded.

Maybe they wanted to tout their own virtue. Wearing a Kerry-Edwards button, in that atmosphere, was the equivalent of saying, "I'm a good person," or, "I hate all things bad." Maybe they were seeking comfort in the herd—having a big group hug, saying, "Aren't we all grand?" I think that's what I disliked most about the button-wearing: It was so easy, so safe. Wearing a Bush-Cheney button in one of those halls—that would have been daring, admirable at some level. But this other was just joining up with the mob.

I mean, I doubt I would have worn a Bush-Cheney button in Waco, or Provo. It would have been a little embarrassing.

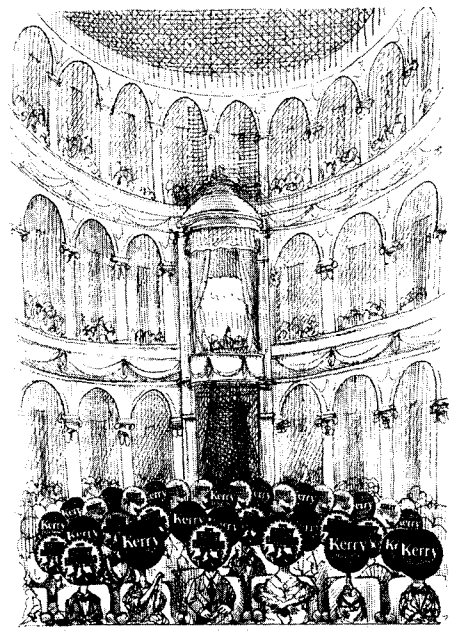
Sort of like joining the Democratic club at Harvard Law School. I met with Harvard Law Republicans recently, and asked whether there was a Democratic club. They said, "Yes, but not many people join it. You might as well join a club called the Harvard Law School Human Beings. Where's the distinction?"

As the days ticked off to Nov. 2, I found myself increasingly . . . well, ticked off, by the button-wearing around me. I sought psychoanalysis from a wiser head, our Richard Brookhiser. I said, "Why should I be so bothered, Rick?" The doctor replied, "First, you're not for Kerry and Edwards—you have to take that into consideration. Second, you object to the imposition of others' political views on you."

He told about walking down the street in New Paltz, N.Y. And this sunny afternoon, there was a bad traffic jam. A woman who happened by said to him, "They'd better get out of their cars and stop bombing Iraq for oil, d'you know what I mean?" Huh? What? Do I know you? And, no, I don't really know what you mean! (I think I do.)

Third, continued Rick—answering my query—who the hell wears political buttons in concert halls and opera houses? Or in court or at church? It's simply inappropriate.

Ah, about court. I heard from a reader of National Review Online—after we'd opened a discussion about buttons—who is an administrative law judge for a federal agency. He wrote, "Our office has six judges, four of whom are conser-



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vative Republicans, two of whom are unknown, politically. We actually had an attorney show up to represent a client wearing a Kerry button. It struck me as the height of ignorance and arrogance." Yes, ignorance and arrogance, a bad combo.

I also heard from many Manhattanites who were brave enough to wear Bush-Cheney buttons on the street. (I never saw any—except on a NATIONAL REVIEW colleague, and you know how we are.) These Republican buttoneers were subjected to a variety of jeers and snubs and threats. The saddest note came from a Vietnamese-American, whose relatives had experienced "reeducation" camps and other horrors. He sported a "Vietnamese-Americans Against Kerry" button—"until someone stopped me and delivered a lecture on the Bush police state. When I brought up the *real* police state my family had lived in, he brushed that off" and kept on about Bush. "I decided to stop wearing the button because I couldn't take the blind idiocy."

More amusing was a letter from a fellow journalist: "There's a man who walks his dog mornings in Central Park who wears a T-shirt reading 'Another Dalton Parent for Bush-Cheney.'" Dalton is a tony prep school on the Upper East Side. "My first instinct was to congratulate him—and then I found myself in full New York mode, edging away from him, thinking, 'What if something's wrong with the poor guy?' Now I look the other way." That is classic.

Some correspondents were so rude as to suggest that, if you wore an American-flag lapel pin, you were in effect wearing a Bush-Cheney button. How McCarthyite (the suggestion, that is)! And yet, I have a friend who is an expat in "Old Europe," and he wears such a pin—expecting and knowing that people will take it to be pro-administration. On the flip side, I heard from someone who dined next to an American tourist wearing a Kerry-Edwards button in a French village. In all likelihood, the button-wearer wanted to assure the natives that he wasn't one of *those* Americans. Or was he just buying protection? Sort of like generations of American students who have slapped the Canadian maple leaf on their backpacks?

Speaking of McCarthyism, a young man from Virginia had just moved to Boulder. He had license plates that said "Fight Terrorism." (He had witnessed the 9/11 attack on the Pentagon.) A woman pulled up next to him and started berating him as a Republican. Now, how did she know? And if a conservative had made that assumption—McCarthy City, baby!

But this has got to take the cake: On Election Day—before the results were known—a Harvard graduate student yelled joyously in a hallway, "I love America! I love democracy!" Someone shushed him, saying, "Enough of your homophobic views"!

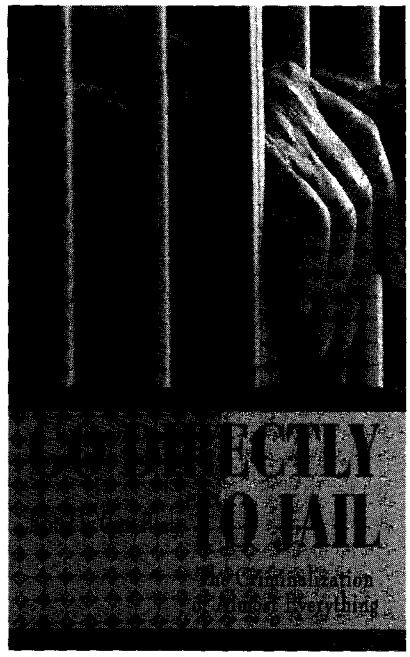
Me, I've never liked political buttons or bumper stickers, maintaining that innocent others should be free from our commentary. You could argue that I have a forum, like this magazine. But a) I didn't always, and b) no one has to read the magazine. (We're going to try to get Ashcroft to do something about that before he leaves the Justice Department.) And life is tense enough without, say, making half the people hate you as you drive down the road.

On Nov. 3, the Kerry-Edwards paraphernalia vanished, like species gone suddenly extinct.

One of our readers has it in for one bumper sticker in particular—the one that says, "Another Family for Peace." *Ugh.* He thought of fashioning a sticker that said, "Another Family for War," or—a different tack—"Another Family for Freedom." His son came up with something really sly: "Another Family for Peace in Our Time."

Sometime in the wee hours of Nov. 3, the Kerry-Edwards paraphernalia vanished from Manhattan, like species gone suddenly extinct. I suppose that, if the Democrats had won, I would have seen the buttons in concert halls and opera houses for, oh, about a week longer—as people celebrated, congratulating themselves, and giving one another high fives in button form.

But, no, they're not wearing those little devils. They look naked without them. Better, too. **NR**



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Bush's Well-Mapped Road to Victory

How Rove et al. pulled it off

RICHARD LOWRY

It is difficult yet to have much perspective on Bush's freshly minted reelection victory, but it may well rank among the most extraordinary Republican campaigns ever. Confronting bad news almost daily, a ferocious attack by a united Left, and a hostile press corps, Bush won a resounding victory. His campaign was strategically brilliant and technically proficient, correctly assessing the nature of the electorate and election from the beginning and acting on its knowledge with great tactical verve. It built a grassroots force that, had it been marshaled on behalf of a liberal, would be celebrated as a great "people's army." It creatively found a way around the establishment press. And it brought home a win that could be a long-term boon to conservative ideas.

The strategy and the tone were set at the top, by the president most importantly, and by the aide he has dubbed "the architect," Karl Rove. They created a team that was cohesive and disciplined, and carried out from beginning to end a plan toward one goal: a victory that would build a second-term mandate. "The president is one who believes in building a mandate—always has," says Republican National Committee chairman Ed Gillespie. "That's what elections are for." It was not to be an empty Reagan 1984 or Clinton 1996 reelection.

The basic conception of the campaign never changed. Early on, Bush pollster Matthew Dowd explains, "we realized that 90 to 92 percent of the country were aligned, and only about 7 to 8 percent were swing voters or independent voters. That was a big thing for us to notice and model the campaign on." It dictated two strategic insights. One was that there would have to be an emphasis on the Republican base. After 9/11, the Bush team saw that levels of GOP support for the president were going to stay at historic highs, which would allow them to maximize turnout. "He has stronger support among Republicans than Reagan," Bush campaign manager Ken Mehlman says, "and the Republican base is 10 points bigger than it was then." Dowd says a presidential campaign traditionally spends 85 to 90 percent of its resources chasing swing voters. The Bush campaign instead roughly split its resources between the base and swing voters. "We knew if we turned out our base, we could split independent voters or lose them slightly, and still win," Dowd says.

The other insight was that—as a function of the division in the country—Bush's job approval would probably neither dip to a level where it would be impossible for him to win, nor rise to a level where victory would be easily assured. Bush would exist in what Dowd calls an "in-between world" for an incumbent—higher than losers like Carter, lower than winners like Reagan. This meant that the election would not be entirely defined by attitudes toward the incumbent, as the Kerry campaign hoped and as many other presidential elections had been. It would be a choice between two candidates, making it especially important for the Bush team to define Kerry as unacceptable.

ONE-ON-ONE POLITICS

The seedbed for the comfortable victory of 2004 was the near-loss of 2000. Generally how it works, says Mehlman, "is if you win, you learn nothing. If you lose, you learn a lot. If you win by 500-something votes, you probably should learn a lot." The Bush campaign had been confident it would have a comfortable victory four years ago, but it evaporated on Election Day. "We had a clear understanding that we got beat on the ground,"

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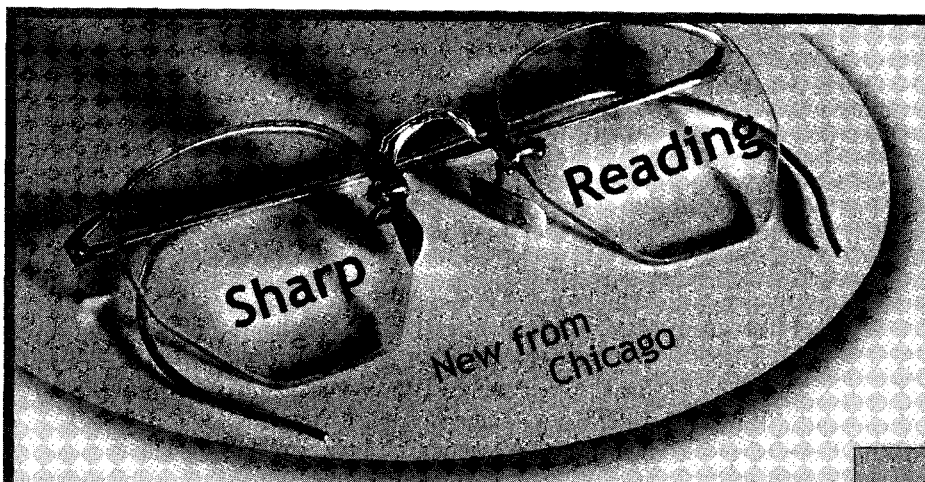

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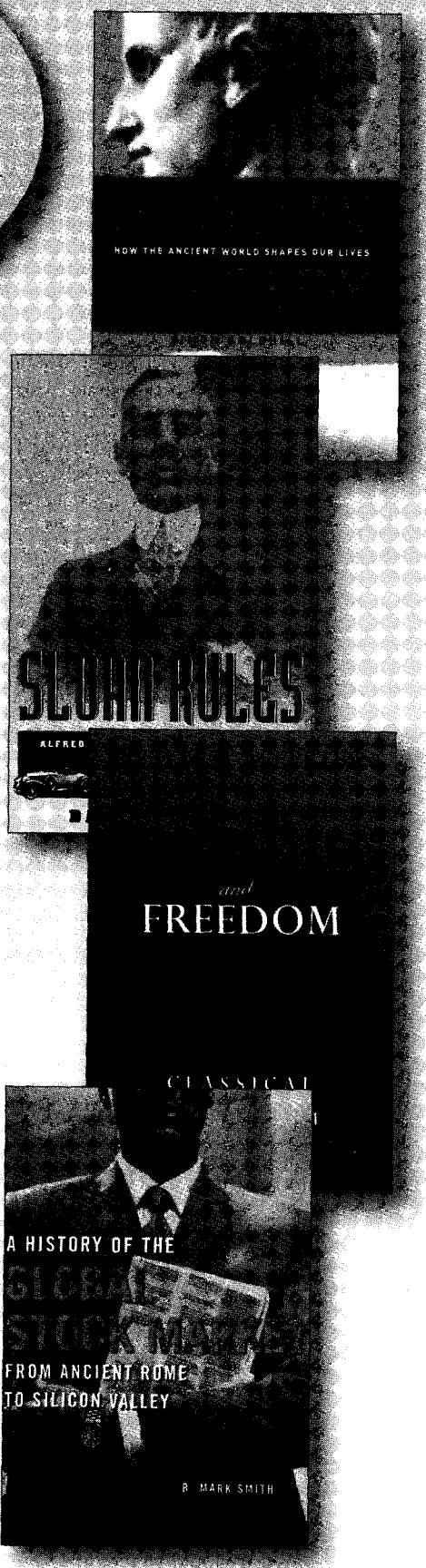

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Gillespie explains. "We had to be better organized. The AFL-CIO and liberal groups have always had a more mechanical turnout. Our base has been more motivational." The Republicans set about getting mechanical.

The Bush team spent 2000-2002 examining everything. How do you convince someone to register to vote? Why didn't Evangelicals vote in the numbers the campaign had expected? What direct mail works? What phone calls work? From this study, says Mehlman, they came away with the belief that the most important thing in political communications is "personal contact from a credible source."

The Republicans built on that basis. Says Gillespie: "It was like a direct-marketing appeal. We built it around personal contacts. We'd ask someone to get five people, who would get five people, and you would have these concentric circles. By the end, we had 1.4 million volunteers in the battleground states. That's a staggering sum." The turnout operation had a dry run in the successful 2002 congressional midterm elections. That was warm-up. Gillespie says that "in '04, it was like in *Spinal Tap* when he turns the amp to 11—that's what we had to do."

"We spent 2003-2004 building this incredible grassroots army," says Mehlman. Besides the volunteers, the campaign created a list of 7.5 million e-mail supporters—what Mehlman calls "the largest conservative list in the history of politics." The campaign focused on identifying three categories of potential voters: 1) new people who had recently moved into their areas—often in the so-called exurbs—ultimately registering 3.4 million new voters; 2) Republicans who don't always vote, roughly 7.4 million people; and 3) unaffiliated voters who might be sympathetic, roughly another 10 million. "That's 20 million people in nine or ten states," says Mehlman. "That's a serious number of new people."

The Bush campaign's political director, Terry Nelson, says, "The untold story of the campaign is our targeting of prospective Republican voters and voters who would not typically fall into the Republican turnout universe," including registered independents or people in states without registration by party. These "disengaged potential Republicans," as Matthew Dowd calls them, were targeted with, among other things, more spending on radio and national cable than any other presidential campaign had ever done. "We acquired a raft of consumer information—do you own a gun? attend church regularly?—that a credit-card company might get," says Mehlman. This helped identify new potential Bush voters. "You might find that someone who subscribed to *Christianity Today* or lived in a high-income household in an area that typically votes Republican," says a Bush campaign official. They could be added to the target list. Also, the campaign matched up its volunteers with target voters, e.g., a gun-owning volunteer would be directed to other gun owners in his area.

"In Wisconsin, we had a lot of sportsmen phone banks, where sportsmen would call and explain to other sportsmen why they should be for us," says Terry Nelson. The campaign tried to match up "anyone with a common interest, common membership," explains Mehlman. "Someone concerned about education is going to be more likely to believe what she hears from a fellow member of the PTA than a [Democratic] kid wearing a baseball hat who wants to show her a John Kerry video and who is getting paid by a temp agency." It was a way to deliver information in a personally compelling—and therefore more credible—way.

It was especially important to have social conservatives talk to social conservatives. The campaign famously thought there were 4 million missing evangelical voters in 2000. It sought to find them. The issues would be starker in 2004 than in the more consensus-driven election of 2000, which would help. But the campaign still had to find a transmission belt to conservative Evangelicals in the wake of the decline of the Christian Coalition. "We had hundreds of training sessions for pastors and activists," says Ken Mehlman. "People organized 'Citizenship Sundays.' Jim Dobson did great things. We reached out to individual members of megachurches who contacted their fellow attendees."

The campaign exploited new technology. You could go to the Bush website, type in your zip code, and get links to local talk radio, drafts of letters to the editor, and talking points of the day. The site had "virtual precincts." If you typed in your name and your address, you would get five people you could contact in your area and directions to their houses. You could get directions to the polls, and if you typed in ten other people, you could get directions to the polls for them, that you could forward on. "TV created an era of mass communications," says Mehlman. "The effect of the Internet is to return us to the days where local communities are important, or communities based on shared interests."

> 'Lots of volunteers will beat a paid army of people who don't have skin in the game.'

Personal connection was important. The campaign's activities had overlapping purposes, all of which served to increase the sense of connection to the campaign. Sending out e-mails obviously communicated a message, but it also made people feel closer to the campaign because they were always hearing from it. Volunteers were important not just for their sheer work hours, but because they would come to care so much about the campaign for which they were working.

Mehlman explains that the model was the Bush caucus campaign in Iowa in 2000, where you could be a Bush team leader by bringing ten other people into the fold. The campaign learned, according to Mehlman, that "lots of volunteers will beat a paid army of people who don't have skin in the game." The same goes for donors—they will care more after they give you money: "If someone gives you five dollars, he has skin in the game. We massively, massively, massively, massively built the size of our donor list, more than a million people. You want to raise money, but you also want to give as many people a stake as you can."

Volunteers, by this way of thinking, weren't just workers, but

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However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don't want you to read her words.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

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"We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission."

—Thelma B.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today."

—Hugh M.

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two."

—Duncan M.

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure."

—Edward S.,M.D.

"As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery."

—Romany S.

"I've been incorporating Dr. Budwig's natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I've never heard about before (and I've read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information."

—Molly G.

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potential Bush devotees and therefore doubly important. "I remember," Mehlman says, "someone from one of our offices rolling his eyes and saying, 'People keep coming here and asking for something to do'—as if it were a problem. I said, 'What, are you crazy?' If you showed up at our offices and asked to help, you were never turned away."

The campaign went out of its way to avoid pitfalls of a top-heavy presidential-reelection organization. "After 2002, I sat down with every campaign in each state," says Mehlman, "and said, 'Tell us everything that you learned.' Usually what happens with a Washington-based campaign is that you think you know better. We wanted to avoid that. We wanted accountability—what did we do wrong and need to do better? And we wanted it to be driven by local knowledge, not from Washington."

THE GROUND GAME

The campaign had "metrics" for every week, goals by state, county, and precinct, for identifying voters and for registrations. The system was reminiscent of the COMPSTAT breakdown of crime statistics block by block that New York City used to fight crime—that's "exactly what it is like," says Mehlman. "I'd call up a field worker out somewhere and say, 'That was a great job you did with those 5,000 new people you ID'd last night.' That makes an impression. If the manager of this multimillion-dollar campaign tells a 24-year-old staffer he likes what he did, word gets around."

It allowed the campaign to identify problems. Terry Nelson says Bush headquarters could say things like, "Montgomery County in Pennsylvania is not producing? What do we need to do? Do we need another staff person? Do we need another phone bank?" Beginning in June there were weekly conference calls with the states, ensuring that they were doing things necessary to meet their get-out-the-vote goals in the fall.

> 'There was always a sense of calm. We knew the election wasn't in April, it was in November.'

But in the spring of 2004, it wasn't clear to outside observers that Bush would get a chance to exercise his campaign's machinery to any effect whatsoever. It seemed he might get blown out of the water by events. The campaign didn't panic. "There was always a sense of calm," says a Bush campaign official. "We knew the election wasn't in April, it was in November." The tone here, as in so much else, was set by Mehlman, who never betrayed discouragement or pointed fingers. (Says Gillespie, in a comment that would get near-universal assent from the Bush campaign: "Ken was never turf-conscious. It was never about him. I can't tell you what a top-quality guy he was—he was tireless, principled, selfless, a great manager.")

It was obvious that the media would beat on Bush as much as possible. "The ferocity of the assault was not anything anyone had ever seen before," says a Bush campaigner. "It was clear that we couldn't make any mistakes, we had to be incredibly disciplined, and we couldn't get down." The campaign also had to bypass the national media. "It was extremely critical to be able to communicate through non-traditional media, through the campaign website, through talk radio, through regional media, through blogs, and through the conservative press," says a Bush campaign official. The campaign's e-mail list reached millions—dwarfing the audience of some mainstream outlets. "It was important to remember that if something was on CNN in the middle of the afternoon," says the official, "it was being seen by only a couple hundred thousand people." Campaign officials and surrogates were booked on regional media. The campaign constantly talked to talk-radio producers and aggressively booked talk-radio shows. "The national media believe they are the focus of a presidential campaign's communications effort," says the official. "In certain ways, they were the least important part."

The campaign weathered the spring. "We wanted to focus on the principles, the big picture," says Gillespie. "They wanted to kill us with a thousand cuts. If we could survive each one, we'd be okay." From the beginning, the Bush team conceived of the campaign as falling into four rough categories: 1) describing the challenges the country had been through (which the campaign did in its initial advertising that included images from 9/11); 2) defining John Kerry (which would happen in the spring, right after the Democratic primaries); 3) telling voters who George Bush is and what he's for (roughly the period through August and the GOP convention); and 4) comparing Bush and Kerry, giving voters the choice (the debates and the stretch run).

"We wanted to define Kerry as soon as we could," Mehlman explains, "because we wanted to be arguing with someone who was at the same level as us. His favorable/unfavorable rating changed dramatically. He went from plus 25 or 30 down to plus 8 or 9. Most of the campaign, the president's fav-unfav was better." The campaign always knew that it would have to attack Kerry as both a liberal and a flip-flopper. "Those two charges were close cousins of each other," says a Bush campaign official. Kerry wanted to get back to the center after the Democratic primary. The flip-flop charge exacted a price for doing so. "The first imperative was not to let him erase the left-leaning rhetoric from the primaries. We wanted to keep him pinned down where he left the primary campaign," says the official. The charge worked beautifully, with help from Kerry. "What Kerry did himself to reinforce that charge was more important than anything else," says Matthew Dowd.

"When he said, 'I voted for it before I voted against it'—that was incredible!" says Mehlman. Kerry still had an opening at his convention, when he would have the attention of millions of Americans: "I was worried going into their convention that they would do what we ended up doing, which was to lay out a bold agenda. They didn't. It was all about the past." The convention's focus on Vietnam set Kerry up perfectly for the independent attack by the Swift-boat veterans. Says Gillespie, "The second ad, about his 1971 testimony, was brutal. That was news to a lot of people 45 years old and younger. Kerry had been talking about

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being a Vietnam veteran proud of his service. Then you have this ad. 'He said what?' It was completely new information and it was completely at odds with his portrayal of how proud he was of his service. Then, there was the soft 'g' in Genghis Khan. A lot of people probably said, 'Oh, yeah, on top of all that—he's a Boston Brahmin.'"

The Republican convention was, by contrast, a runaway success. Rudy Giuliani, John McCain, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Laura Bush all had favorable/unfavorable ratings better than anyone at the Democratic convention. And the campaign kept it interesting. "We had a matrix with a theme for every night," says Mehlman. "We told speakers, 'This is what you should focus on, and here are three or four things you might want to say.' But we didn't do what the Democrats did, which was basically to have 27 speeches all written by the same people. That's always boring."

Most important, Bush launched a policy offensive at the convention. He had waited a long time, but for a reason. "In 2000 we had done it in the spring," says Gillespie, "and by October we had run out of gas. We didn't want to repeat that. It was a sense of a new beginning, a new agenda for a new term. Without acknowledging anything was wrong in the first term, it said the second term will be a little different."

THE CLOSER

The campaign went into the stretch run with a very strong candidate. "The most important thing was George W. Bush," says Mehlman. "He was a good campaigner. He's a charismatic guy. He's compelling. He's good on the stump. And people loved him. All we did was take that incredible support and build channels for it."

The first debate was a major stumbling block. "We all knew it was problematic for us and it was a gain for Kerry and we had to regain our footing," says Gillespie. By the end of the debate period Bush had regained his lead. The last event that could have changed the dynamic of the race was the explosive *New York Times* story. Kerry seized on it, and Bush aides think the story hurt their candidate. But it represented an opportunity cost to Kerry too. Mehlman says, "That he would want to spend the week before the election talking about how much munitions there were in Iraq, I never understood. I was saying, 'Are you kidding me?'"

"It ended up exactly the way we thought," says Mehlman, "a close election that we won on the ground." The Bush team had confidence in the ground game it had honed for years. "[The campaign workers] had executed every day, had executed every week, and had been held accountable," says Terry Nelson. "I had very few doubts." New registrants, who were supposed to carry Kerry over the top, broke only 53-46 for the senator. The GOP goal was for 14 million "attempts"—attempted contact with voters—in the battleground states in the last four days. The number may have hit 18 million. "If you look at it county by county," says Nelson, "we outperformed our 2000 vote in a huge number of counties."

Bush officials hope they have created a new model for Republican politics. Nelson argues that Republicans have traditionally won when they have had a better message and a better candidate, while Democrats have often won on the basis of better tactics and turnout. "Republicans in two different elections now [2002 and 2004] have had a better tactical effort than the Democrats," he says.

The win is encouraging about the GOP message as well. Says Mehlman, "We learned that a reform agenda has appeal beyond conservatives. The percentage of conservatives in the electorate went up, from 29 to 35 percent. For the first time ever, Republicans and Democrats voted in equal percentages. At the same time, the vote among Hispanics went up nine points. Bush's vote among blacks and Jews went up. His vote in the cities went from 26 to 39 percent."

And so it is that Republicans—although events always may throw a curve ball—have arrived in a season of promise. "Reagan won an ideological victory," says Mehlman, "but he never had the operational majority to go with it. Bush won an ideological victory and has an operational majority too. We have the White House, the House, the Senate, a majority of governorships, and parity in the state legislatures." Not bad. "I was thinking on Election Day, when it became clear we would win," Mehlman says, "that this is the ultimate continuation of the legacy of Reagan." What higher tribute could there be to the campaign of 2004? **NR**

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The Limits of Media Bias

Try as they might, they couldn't put Kerry over the top

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

EARLIER this year, Evan Thomas, *Newsweek*'s Washington editor, conceded that there was media bias favoring Senator Kerry and speculated that it might be worth a 15-point Democratic advantage. He later amended this estimate, to a mere 5-point advantage. If that second estimate is correct, the Bush-Cheney ticket would, on a level media playing field, have defeated Kerry-Edwards by a margin of 8 points. Given the outbreak of despair among Democrats occasioned by an actual 3-point loss, Terry McAuliffe and the entire DNC would doubtless have committed mass hara-kiri following Kerry's gracious concession over a glass of hemlock.

It is almost certainly true that the Republican victory should have been larger. My own explanation for this shortfall, however, blames not the media, but President Bush—for failing to make 9/11 an occasion for reviving the traditional understanding of America as a melting pot, as opposed to various multicultural metaphors of salads and mosaics. Such a revival would have exactly matched the national mood of "United We Stand" and entrenched it for the long struggle against terrorism. And though the main purpose of such a cultural strategy would have been to strengthen America, it would also have aided the GOP as a side-effect. Whether they realize it or not—and some of the Bush people seem to see it as a handicap—Republicans are the party of assimilation. Short of enlisting in the armed forces, voting Republican is just about the most assimilated thing an immigrant can do. And stressing the melting-pot concept might have won over entire classes of voters hitherto less concerned about either patriotism or national security. Unlike FDR, however, President Bush made little attempt to turn a moment of patriotic unity into the permanent base for a large governing majority. Bush still won a majority of patriotic voters—including the "security moms"—but it could have been a larger vote and a larger victory.

FLAGRANT BIAS

Against such a wave of patriotism, the media would have labored in vain. Indeed, they labored in vain against a much smaller wave. But labor they did. Never before have the establishment media cast aside the diaphanous veils of objectivity with such reckless self-revelation. Many "Republican-leaning" newspapers even removed, like Salome, that seventh veil concealing their firm liberal bias in news reporting—namely, the editorial endorsement of the Republican presidential candidate. It was with a heavy heart, liberal editorialists wrote, that they abandoned a century of tradition to conclude that George W. Bush was just too far out of the mainstream of modern America to endorse. With such bastions of Republicanism as the *Orlando Sentinel* switching to Kerry, it is hardly surprising that the national media were almost part of his campaign.

No doubt the Media Research Center will produce a detailed study of the flagrant media bias. My purpose here is to look at some outstanding examples of it and to ask why it failed to deliver a Kerry win. The first case—establishment-media coverage of the Swift-boat vets—is like the Sherlock Holmes story about the dog that barked in the night. Holmes realizes that the guard dog did *not* bark . . . because the intruder was its owner! Similarly, when the Swift vets alleged that Kerry was unfit for command—because of his war-crimes allegations against U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, and his exaggerations of his own bravery there—the media failed to bark for a very long period. Then, when the silence became uncomfortable, it licked Kerry's hand. The *New York Times* ran a story to the effect that the Swift vets were a front for the Bush-Rove campaign. Unfortunately, that compelled them to explain what this sinister front group was saying—so a number of media outlets tried to debunk the Swift-vet allegations. But the charges, overall, rang true—and stuck.

Why did the Big Media fail in this effort? In the first place, they no longer control the news agenda as completely as they did a decade ago. To be sure, the provincial press still follows the *Times*, the *Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the three networks as slavishly as ever—why do you think they're called provincial? But the Internet (which makes newspapers worldwide available), the bloggers, talk radio, and Fox News among them have a sufficiently large audience to force stories into the national consciousness even if they are shunned by what Paul Johnson calls the seven deadly sinners. It was owing to this *alternative* discussion of the Swift-vet allegations that *Unfit for Command* became a bestseller. Second, the bloggers—dismissed by one news executive as nerds sitting in front of their computers in pajamas—were more hard-nosed in their investigations and better informed in their analyses. The blogging community does not lack editors, it transpires; every blogger is an editor—and a fairly tough old-fashioned editor, at that: one intent on getting the facts right. News analyses in the major papers were repeatedly torn to shreds by the bloggers within hours. "Respected" columnists were laughed to scorn for their laziness in publishing pro-Kerry arguments that had been disproved online days before. It seemed the establishment media simply *couldn't* get it right—likely because, at some level, they believed the Swift vets and could not bear to look too closely into their claims. Whatever the cause, the coverage discredited the media more than it did the Swift vets.

DAN RATHER'S FLAMEOUT

The same media that had shunned a sharp new story in that case were subsequently enthused by a battered old case of

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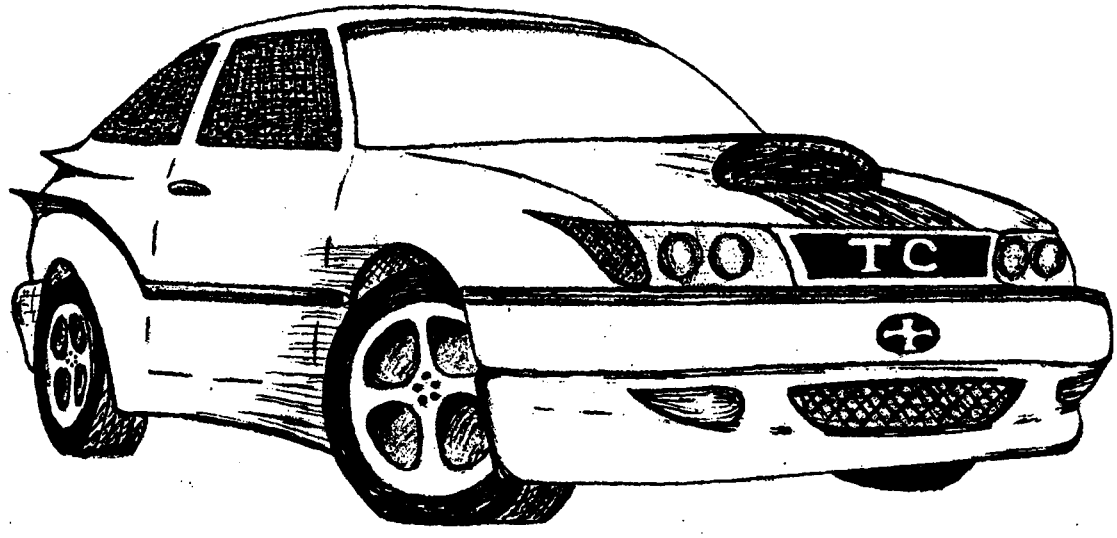
TURBO Catholicism



Why is so much of Catholicism gutless, anemic, and wimpy these days? Is it because there are so many touchie-feelie types in the priesthood? You know, "Let's all hold hands now and sing 'All Shall Be Well,' and then let's give one another a big hug." It's like being back at summer camp. No wonder the sacred liturgy often resembles a hootenanny!

And we get camp-fire sermonettes with all the substance and nutrition of a marshmallow. Where's the beef? We don't hear much, if anything, about the Church's teachings on abortion, contraception, euthanasia, homosexuality, pre-marital sex, pornography, consumerism, the indissolubility of marriage, Purgatory, or Hell. Pope John Paul II valiantly called for a New Evangelization, and we sit around hearing about how we need to get in touch with our inner child and feel good about ourselves.

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fraud: Dan Rather and CBS were taken in by some forged documents purporting to show that George W. Bush, as a young man, had used his father's political pull to evade Vietnam by getting into the National Guard, lollygagging around while there and failing to obey a direct order to get a physical exam. Within minutes of the broadcast the fraud was detected by a blogger, and within two days—at most—it was generally accepted that Rather had been led up the garden path. The key moment came when Terry McAuliffe speculated vaguely that if the documents were indeed fraudulent, then maybe Karl Rove was behind the whole scam. (Aha!)

Dan himself remained unwilling to concede. "The boy stood on the burning deck / Whence all but he had fled." (Not an original Ratherism, I'm afraid, but close.) And he produced a lady stenographer who had worked for the National Guard officer who in turn had not actually composed, written, or dictated the documents whose authenticity was in doubt (aha!) but who would have done so if he had been given the chance. She knew they represented his opinion of Bush, because she had typed similar documents about Bush for him. It was wonderfully reminiscent of the Jesuit debater's response to the argument that there was no evidence in the writing of the early Church fathers for his favorite doctrine: "Admittedly, there is no evidence in the writings of the fathers that have survived, but there is a mass of evidence in the documents that have perished." In the end, Dan was unable to get his hands on the documents that had perished and had to concede that the other documents in his possession could not be proved genuine.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2004

BUSH = BAD, BAD, BAD

As the flames rose higher, however, he stuck to what he thought was the gravamen: The documents may be false, but the story about Bush's lackadaisical National Guard record was true. It did not seem to occur to Rather and CBS that though every other news organization in the world might reasonably advance that claim, for them the story was the fraud: They had to acknowledge it without any self-justifying qualification. Above all, they could not use the excuse that the *Daily Mirror* editor used to justify running fake photographs of British soldiers torturing Iraqis—namely, that the false evidence illustrated a larger truth. That is a manifestly inadequate argument in itself: Lies do not help establish truth. And it was given no serious additional support by the interviews that Dan conducted with other Texans claiming to have helped Bush—they all had possible partisan motives for discrediting the president and they were contradicted by other witnesses from that time. And what was the larger truth anyway?

The larger truth was that Bush was an idle, drunken, irresponsible wastrel as a young man. Well, so what? He tells us that all the time. As Mark Steyn pointed out, Rather and CBS were simply reiterating the life-affirming biography of the 43rd president: wasted youth, love of a good woman, demon drink forsworn, born again, serious husband and father, from the White House to the White House. Rather's scoop was no better than if he had produced a membership list of the East Houston Alcoholics Anonymous and pointed triumphantly to a scrawled signature that might be either "George W. Bush" or "Sonia N. Hunt." Unlike the Swift-vet allegations, which attacked a key Kerry argument, the Rather strike hit Bush like a congratulatory slap on the back: "You've come a long way, baby." What is revealing, however, is that Rather and CBS thought that it would damage the president—and for that reason were unwilling to admit defeat long after the corpse was buried.

Journalists outside CBS may have sympathized, but they knew a lost cause when they saw it. They shuffled quickly away, muttering platitudes about journalistic ethics and proper sourcing. But CBS found an influential ally in a third case—namely, the last-minute surprise that wasn't, or the case of the missing munitions. Again, a simple storyline: An official of the IAEA asks Iraq for information on munitions that had once been stored there; he is told that they can't be found—they have disappeared while under U.S. control; this reply is leaked to CBS and the *New York Times*; and CBS wishes to unveil the scoop two days before the election. A bout of journalistic ethics breaks out at the *Times*—which wants to run the story sooner so that 1) they will not both be scooped by other news outlets and 2) the administration will have a decent time to respond. The *Times* got its way.

The story probably damaged the Bush campaign somewhat, but the extra week allowed the following things to happen: All sorts of facts emerged to refute or at least to cloud the original story—they were removed before the U.S. arrived, they were removed by the U.S. after we arrived, they're still there, and so on, until everyone is thoroughly confused.

Finally, deprived of its #1 October Surprise, CBS's *60 Minutes* ran a story about how National Guard units in Iraq lack vital equipment such as armored vehicles and bullets. This was a serious and important story. If it was intended to damage Bush, however, it was wide of the mark, because its focus was mainly on congressional misallocation of defense spending for "pork," and because Kerry voted against the $87 billion allocation for Iraq. So the media campaign ended not with a surprise but with a badly aimed bang.

The short moral of all these episodes: For the media: Throw fewer boomerangs. For the Democrats: Friends don't let friends drive wearing blinkers. And for the Republicans who deal with the media: Buy a dog. **NR**

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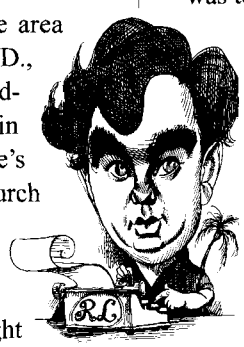
the long view

ROB LONG

Church Newsletters From All Over

From "Light the Lamp!": The monthly newsletter of the Holy Flame Pentecostal Church of Little Rock, Ark.



We welcome back to the area Senator Hillary Clinton (D., N.Y.), who has been spending so much time here in Little Rock lately that she's practically joined the church choir! "I'm here spending time at my husband's library," she told the Lamp when we caught up with her after a Sunday camp meeting, "and of course, I always take time to worship God in as evangelical a way as is feasible, given time and location constraints. As you know, I consider myself an evangelical Christian, really a Christian conservative, if you want to know the truth, so it's nice to be 'home' again in the South, which I really consider my quote-unquote home even though I live in New York most of the time. Well, Washington, D.C., most of the time, actually, but if I'm not there I'm in New York, of course, but always thinking about being here, in the South, my spiritual home, where I shared so many wonderful evangelical . . . moments and . . . events. Can you read that back to me?"

The "Light the Lamp!" staff would like to take this opportunity to remind everyone that Christ loves all of us equally, and that God's house is open to all, even to senators from New York, so whoever is muttering stuff and saying mean things while pretending to cough can just quit it right now.

From "Sing Out!": The official blog of the Church of the Redeemer in Blaine, Mo.

Tuesday night's Bible Study class was touched by stardust this week, when who dropped in but Senator Hillary Clinton (D., N.Y.), who told the surprised but warmly welcoming study group that she was just passing through (maybe going to the big Democrat shindig in St. Joe??) when she was suddenly struck with wondering about Jesus' description of the "narrow door" (Luke, 13th chapter) and wanted to find a group of "fellow Bible-believing Christians" who might share her spiritual search. Truth be told, there was some grumbling in the group, as Tuesday night's topic was supposed to be Jesus and the South Beach Diet, but all were gracious and full of fellowship . . . also, the senator brought Cinnabons! It was a great night overall, and as she left, the senator thanked each and every one of the study groupies, as we call ourselves, for "taking in this lost lamb and helping her see the way," and she reminded us that it's awfully hard for a Bible-centered Christian conservative like her to serve in the Senate, which sort of puzzled some of us—who kept remembering her doing this and saying that and that and that and doing this and this and this—and with a wave she stepped into her limo and zoomed off! It was like Oscar night!

From "Many Sheaves": The Christmas appeal letter of the Precious Lamb Roman Catholic Church in Santa Fe, N.M.

Thanks go out to Senator Hillary Clinton (D., N.Y.) for the wonderful lemon pound cakes she sent along for our holiday bake sale. She writes in to "Many Sheaves": "As I'm sure your parishioners remember, I often stopped by the Precious Lamb Roman Catholic Church whenever I was in Santa Fe. It was a wonderful place to worship and contemplate God's infinite majesty, and I was often struck, as I sat in your beautiful church, by how infallible the Pope really is. Just a wonderful, infallible person. Best of luck with your Christmas appeal! And remember, the Pope really is tops with me!"

From the official program of the monthly baptism ceremony of the Come to Christ Baptist Church, Medford, Ohio.

Receiving Christ today in holy baptism, we're honored to have some newcomers to the C2C community. We know there's some in the church who aren't too pleased to celebrate some of these folks' coming to the Lord, but as He taught us, judgment is for the Father. Our calling is to welcome these folks into the fellowship of Christ. We'll be gathering at the river bank to celebrate the baptisms of Senator Hillary Clinton (D., N.Y.), Senator John Edwards (D., N.C.), Governor Bill Richardson (D., N.M.), and Senator Evan Bayh (D., Ind.). Originally, it was just going to be a small ceremony with Senator Clinton and her film crew, but I guess word got out! The power of God's love really seems to be sweeping the Democratic party! Hallelujah!

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HELP!!!!

WE'RE ALL AMERICANS. WE MUST COME TOGETHER AND BEGIN THE HEALING
SEE, I TOLD YOU THERE ARE TWO AMERICAS! THE FIGHT HAS JUST BEGUN!
EDWARDS '08
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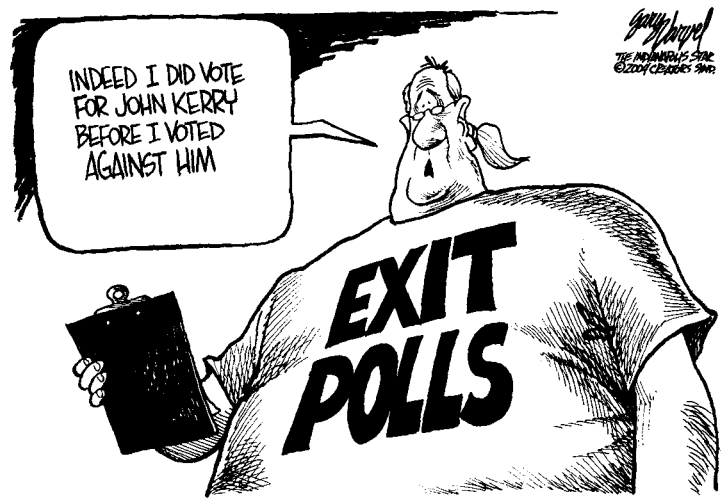
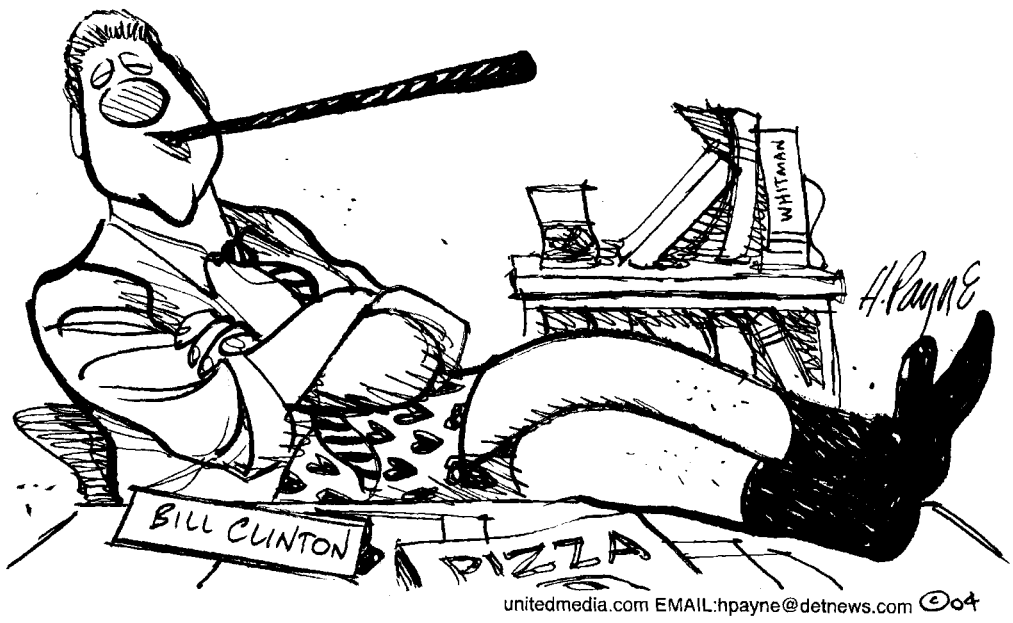
Election Night Memories

My favorites were those exit polls
The networks used like wassail bowls,
Dispensing cheerful Kerry talk
Till, not unlike the last great auk,
Peter et al. were sucking air,
As real polls, ladling despair,
Rolled in about, say, 10 o'clock.
Brokaw still pales. Rather's in shock.

—W. H. von Dreele



"She didn't say yes and she didn't say no. She said, 'Get out of here before I call a cop.'"



"BUSH'S ELECTION PROVES AMERICA WANTS 'MORAL VALUES' IN A PRESIDENT? OKAAAAYYY..."

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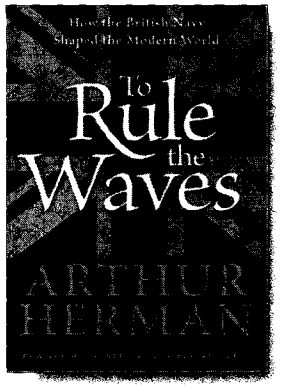
His Majesty's Blue Domain



To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World, by Arthur Herman (HarperCollins, 672 pp., $26.95)

MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

In his book *The Constitution of Liberty*, Friedrich Hayek called it the "liberal tide." It was a largely British tide, one that brought in its wake ideas that Hayek believed changed the world for the better—liberty under law, safeguards for individual freedom, open markets. No argument there. Nevertheless, in the 1860s and '70s, the liberal tide began to ebb. The British school of political economy became, in spite of its vast success, unfashionable; knowledgeable people argued that socialism was the wave of the future. The Commune was proclaimed in Paris; Bismarck repudiated the *Rechtsstaat* (rights-state) in Germany; the industrial nations began to develop elaborate welfare and administrative states. In 1933 Franklin Roosevelt abandoned one of the last shreds of British-based liberal order when he took the U.S. off the gold standard.

With the decline of British liberalism the writing of history, too, underwent a change. Earlier historians, such as Hume and Macaulay, had devoted themselves to trying to understand the British miracle: They praised innovations that contributed to British prosperity and censured practices that undermined it. When, however, the liberal tide began to go out, a new generation of historians emerged to repudiate the liberal or "Whig" historians. In his 1931 book *The Whig Interpretation of History*, Sir Herbert Butterfield condemned the thinking that had prompted Macaulay, in his *History of England*, to declare that "the history of our country during the last hundred and sixty years is eminently the history of physical, of moral, and of intellectual improvement." For much of the 20th century, liberal history—Whig history—was a dead letter.

In the last few years the tide has again begun to turn. We are now as eager as Macaulay's and Hume's readers once were for works of history that teach us how free states evolve and explain why they prosper. No historian has been more ingenious in meeting this demand than Arthur Herman. In his last book, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, Herman brought to life the Scottish Enlightenment, a movement whose importance was previously obscured by the opaque monographs of the academic specialists who make it their study. Although the Scottish Enlightenment has never enjoyed the éclat of the French Enlightenment, Herman showed that the Scottish sages—Hume, Smith, Lord Kames, Dugald Stewart—made the more beneficent contribution to the cause of human freedom. They explained, in a fresh and captivating way, why the British system of political economy worked.

In his new book, *To Rule the Waves*, Herman turns to another institution that contributed no less vitally to the spread of liberal order: the British navy. The book begins with a series of vivid pictures of the exploits of the Elizabethan seadogs—John Hawkins, Francis Drake, Walter Raleigh—who together shaped the sailing culture out of which the British navy emerged. All three men came from Devon in southwest England; none was an altogether amiable specimen. Hawkins trafficked in slaves; Drake was a cruel and vindictive sailor who once ordered the summary beheading of a rebellious underling. But the daring seamanship and enterprising spirit of the Devon mariners hastened the collapse of Spain's transmarine empire and prepared the way for Britain's dominion over the seas. While the seadogs preyed upon Spanish silver ships and established, with the edge of the sword, the principle of "unity of command"—the absolute authority of a captain on his ship—Tudor bureaucrats laid the foundation for a modern system of administrative control. The Navy Board, with its pool of expertise and principle of collective responsibility for strategic decisions, was a Tudor innovation, and represented as important a development in the management of naval affairs as the advent, in 19th-century Prussia, of the staff system of army organization.

The Navy Board would never possess the intellectual glamour of the Prussian General Staff. It never boasted minds that, like Clausewitz's or Helmuth von Moltke's, combined strategic brilliance with literary flair, nor did it ever develop a manual of strategy comparable to Clausewitz's *On War*. But although the Navy Board never attained the fame of the Prussian General Staff—a reflection, perhaps, of man's tendency to overvalue the intellect—its more prosaic approach to military matters was in the end more successful. The great Prussian Staff officers were anxious and melancholy Junkers with a bent for metaphysical speculation; the spirit of the Navy Board, by contrast, was exemplified by the stout good sense of Samuel Pepys, who under Charles II was appointed the board's surveyor general. Pepys's diary became a classic of English literature precisely because of its candor, its homeliness, its lack of literary self-consciousness. The same blunt realism that animated Pepys's diary inspired his naval reforms, among them the creation of the Royal Hospital for seamen at Greenwich. The German economist Werner Sombart once said that there are two kinds of empires: those founded in the common-sense calculations of mercantile peoples (the *Händler*), and those that flower in the heroic dreams of warrior castes (the *Helden*). What Herman calls "Mr. Pepys's Navy" was eminently suited to the sensibility of a commercial nation.

Great though the Elizabethan and

Mr. Beran is the author most recently of *Jefferson's Demons: Portrait of a Restless Mind.*

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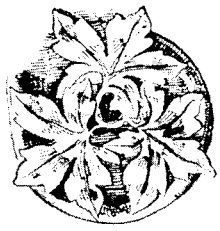
Caroline contributions to the British navy were, the most important naval triumph of the period, the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588, was brought about not by superior English seamanship, but by the weather. "Bad luck, bad planning, and bad weather," Herman writes, "doomed the enterprise, not the Royal Navy." It would be different the next time around. When, in the 18th century, the British navy confronted a new imperial power—France—it would decisively win epochal sea-battles. Advances in shipbuilding and seaborne supply methods helped make these victories possible. A first-rate 18th-century battleship like the *Royal George* carried 100 guns and a crew of more than 800 men. Improved methods of provisioning ships allowed the Admiralty to keep thousands of sailors at sea for months at a time. A naval culture that emphasized audacity ensured that the new technology was put to good use. "Lay a Frenchman close," an 18th-century British captain liked to say, "and you will beat him." When, in 1756, Admiral John Byng failed to engage the French fleet off Minorca, he was ordered home, tried, and executed.



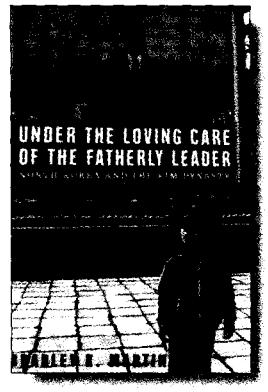
But the struggle between Britain and France was more than a contest of fleets and armies: It was, writes Herman, a war "for the soul of the global system." The French system of political economy continued, in the 18th century, to be dominated by the ideas of Colbert, who in the previous century had served as Louis XIV's finance minister. Under Colbert France developed a command economy with a complicated apparatus of government monopolies and subsidized industrial activity. The system initially produced impressive results; but like other command economies it could not match, over an extended stretch of time, the wealth-producing capacity of less regulated economies.

The British navy's contests with France from the beginning of the Seven Years' War to the close of the Napoleonic Wars will always form the most romantic chapter in its history. It was at this time that the British naval officer assumed his characteristic dress and style, the dark blue coat and buff waistcoat that figure in the novels of C. S. Forester and Patrick O'Brian. It was during this time, too, that the greatest of Britain's naval heroes emerged: Horatio Nelson. The man who finally broke the French navy was not without his flaws: He was an arrogant and ambitious officer who as a young post-captain was in the habit of dismissing his superiors as "ninnies." But taken all in all Nelson was the greatest seagoing commander in the history of the British service. His personal courage was remarkable even in a profession where bravery was the rule rather than the exception. He was a natural warrior, unperturbed by violence. "Even in the frenzy of action," Herman writes, "he could analyze and exploit his opponent's weakness with the detachment of a stone-cold killer." His flag officers were devoted to him. "I had the happiness to command," Nelson said, "a Band of Brothers."

Nelson twice thwarted Napoleon in his ambition to bring England to her knees. When Bonaparte conquered Egypt and dreamed of achieving global dominion through the subjugation of India, Nelson destroyed the French Levantine fleet at the Battle of the Nile. ("Victory," Nelson said, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene.") The crippling of the French fleet left Bonaparte stranded in Egypt; only his famous luck enabled him to sneak back to France aboard the frigate *Muiron*. Later, when the French emperor projected an invasion of England—the English Channel, Napoleon was heard to say, "is a ditch which one can jump whenever one is bold enough to try"—Nelson again checked the Corsican's ambitious designs by destroying a second French fleet off Cape Trafalgar, south of Cádiz, a battle that cost Nelson his life and immortalized him as the great father of the British navy.

The Napoleonic sea-battles saw the British fleet at the height of her glory. When, in the next century, Germany and Russia rose up with their own visions of global empire, Britain's sailors demonstrated the same fortitude they had in the past; but Britain herself was no longer the decisive guarantor of free trade and open seas that she had been before. "That responsibility," Herman writes, passed into "other hands." Yet the record of Her Majesty's navy will continue to inspire as long as men take it into their heads to go to sea, and is recounted with style and mastery in this excellent book. **NR**

Despotism's Furthest Shore



Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader: North Korea and the Kim Dynasty, by Bradley K. Martin (Thomas Dunne, 880 pp., $29.95)

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

WHEN the North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung died in 1994 and his son Kim Jong Il took over leadership of the country, I thought, in common with most observers, that the Communist regime was done for. Kim Sr., though he had originally been installed by Stalin as a tool of Soviet policy, had had a genuine background as a guerrilla fighter against the Japanese in Manchuria and Korea before and during WWII. Odious as was the system he created from 1945 on, Kim

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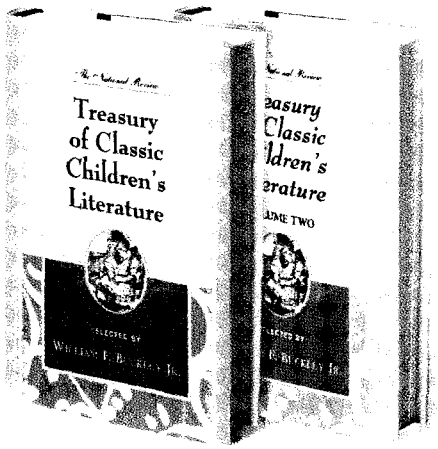

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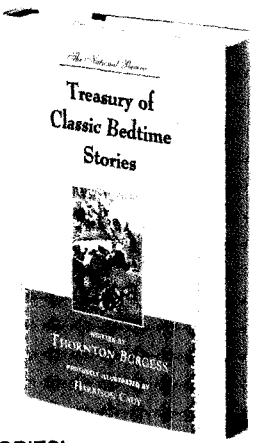

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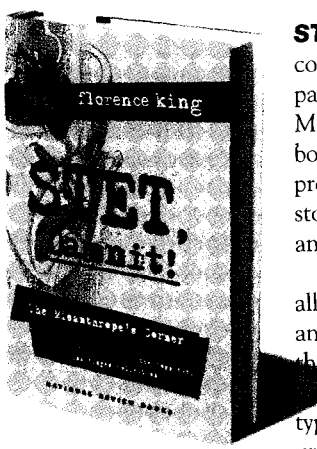

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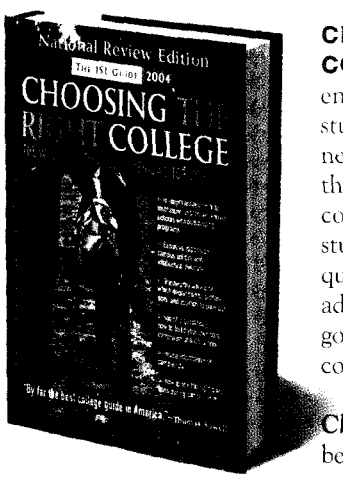

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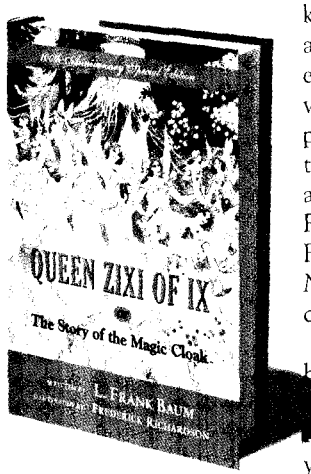

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was a man of character and hard experience. Of accomplishments, too—some of them surprising. He served as organist in a Christian church during his youth, for example; and when American troops entered Pyongyang in October 1950, they found a church organ in Kim's command bunker. Kim Jr., by contrast, had had no military experience and displayed nothing to indicate any depths of character beyond a fondness for movies. He was, according to one of the many defectors interviewed by Bradley Martin for this book, known in his nation's government and military circles as a person who "sleeps in the afternoon, parties at night, and has affairs with actresses." I imagined the hard-faced Leninists of Pyongyang muttering the Korean equivalent of "Hyperion to a satyr," and moving swiftly to depose the baby-faced Kim Jr.

To the contrary, Kim Jong Il was a clever, ruthless, and politically adroit operator, who had spent the previous 30 years maneuvering to consolidate his position as heir. Kim Il Sung's last days, in fact, put one in mind not so much of *Hamlet* as of *Lear*, with the younger Kim greedily relieving his father of (as he no doubt expressed it at the time) all the irksome burdens of office. One of Martin's defectors, a former captain in State Security, reports that Kim Sr. died of apoplexy after phoning his son to urge priority for civilian over military expenditures. Jong Il had brushed aside this suggestion with: "Relax, enjoy your old age. We'll take care of it."

These are among the many fascinating insights offered in Martin's comprehensive survey of the Kims and the nation they created. *Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader* is a rich and rewarding book that anyone interested in this strange Leninist vestige should read. The sensational extravagance of the leadership; the dreadful sufferings of the common people; the ludicrous personality cults thrown up by both Kims; Kim Jong Il's need for nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles (his possession of the latter is certain, of the former highly probable); the systematic destruction of normal life and language in North Korea—all this is laid out here for inspection. If I may be permitted a book reviewer's cliché: I couldn't put it down.

That is in spite of the fact that this is, in many ways, an unsatisfactory book. It is too long—713 pages of main text plus a further 133 pages of endnotes. The material is not well organized, and occasionally repeats itself. Much of it has the look of warmed-over newspaper journalism. (Which much of it is bound actually to be—in a book of this sort, written by a journalist. Still, there are ways to make the fact less obvious.)

The author also has an annoying left-liberal tic he cannot altogether suppress. For instance, he quotes Kim Il Sung's remark of circa 1970 that "in our country, everyone knows how to fire a gun and carries a gun with him." In a tagged endnote Martin adds mischievously: "It is interesting to consider the idea of arming all citizens of a totalitarian state in the light of the libertarian argument often heard in the United States that citizens' right to bear arms prevents government tyranny." Well, no, it is *not* interesting so to consider, since neither Kim Il Sung nor any other Communist despot ever had the least intention of acknowledging anything remotely like the right to bear arms that our Constitution affirms—nor any other right, either. And in fact, Martin later quotes a high-level defector as saying: "Soldiers in Pyongyang normally were not supplied live ammunition, presumably for fear they would mount a coup." So much for the Kims' Second Amendment enthusiasms.

This comprehensive survey of the Kims and the nation they created is a rich and rewarding book.

Again, in an endnote comparing Kim Il Sung with Ho Chi Minh, the author can barely contain his enthusiasm for the latter: "Ho Chi Minh did not purge his colleagues . . . he was a man of 'goodness and simplicity.'" Martin seems here to be quoting David Halberstam's 1971 biography of Ho. In William Duiker's more authoritative 2000 biography (reviewed in these pages, Oct. 23, 2000) we hear kindly old Uncle Ho saying things like: "All those who do not follow the line that I have set out will be smashed." He meant it, too; and though by no means the most egregious specimen of Leninist mass-murderer, Ho could purge with the best of them.

Yet not even a leftist, Vietnam-addled American journalist of Bradley Martin's stripe can fail to grasp the essential nature of the North Korean regime after 30 years of observing it. Martin is anyway on the rightward side of the opinion spectrum in the narrow little world of Kim-ology. His book includes several quotes from the appalling Bruce Cumings, who has argued, for example, that Kang Chol-hwan's book *The Aquariums of Pyongyang*, a hair-raising account of Kang's ten years in a North Korean labor camp, proves that the regime isn't so bad, since after all Kang survived to write the book!

By sheer relentless accumulation of detail Martin succeeds here in giving us a full portrait of the Kims and their filthy little tyranny. This makes the book, with all its faults, valuable and noteworthy. If your entire knowledge of North Korea is taken from occasional newspaper pieces and hearsay, this is an excellent book with which to fill in the gaps and attain a more rounded understanding of that country, and of our options in dealing with it.

Those options are few, and mostly unappealing. Forceful action would certainly destroy the regime, but it would destroy a great deal else besides: a good swathe of South Korea, for sure, and possibly the odd Japanese or American city. Martin quotes Kim Jong Il as saying, of the possible outbreak of war: "If we lose, I will destroy the world." Admittedly, this is N. K. army scuttlebutt from a military defector; but if Martin's portrait of Kim is anything close to true, the remark is not out of character. We have all become very cautious about reports of dictators' stockpiling weapons of mass destruction. Perhaps we should bear in mind the old adage that a nation generally learns the wrong lesson from the previous war.

Furthermore, any preemptive action by the U.S. would be hotly opposed by the South Koreans, who are largely in denial about North Korean realities, have a sentimental—though uncharitable—attitude toward their ethnic kin in the

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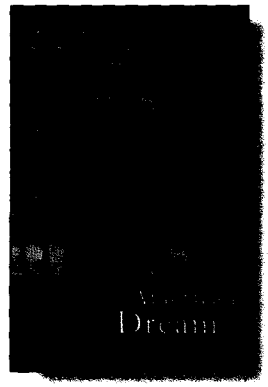
North, and imagine that the present situation, the one they have gotten comfortably used to, can continue indefinitely.

Anything less than brute force, on the other hand, is unlikely to bring down the regime, given the survival skills Kim Jr. has already displayed, and would in any case require the cooperation of Beijing, where Kim is viewed with amused condescension but no real alarm. The Chinese Communist party has no interest in ending Kim's rule and uniting Korea under a rational, constitutional form of government. In fact, as Martin says, none of the nations most concerned with Korean affairs—not China, Japan, the U.S., nor Russia—really wants Korean unification. Even the South Koreans desire it only in the way that the young St. Augustine prayed for continence and chastity: "but not yet." If the status quo could continue for another hundred years, everyone—except, of course, the poor devils who actually live in North Korea—would be happy. Unfortunately, it can't.

Bradley Martin's final suggestion for dealing with Kim Jong Il by easing him toward constitutional monarchy is original and interesting. In my opinion it is also naïve; but in a situation where the U.S. has no good options, perhaps anything is worth trying. What is certain is that nobody in the U.S. State Department has the wit or initiative to attempt anything so unconventional, or probably anything at all outside the well-trodden tracks of appeasement. Certainly we are not likely to try a military option—even though, and with all the fearsome dangers, a well-judged attack might, simply from the point of view of U.S. national interest, be justifiable. The Iraq war has exhausted the enthusiasm of the American public for preemptive strikes. We shall, therefore, probably just stumble on trying to hold the status quo together until something horrible happens and we lose control of the situation.

To understand the consequences of this "policy" for the U.S., for the world, and for the starved, beggared, brainwashed wretches in North Korea, Bradley Martin's book is required reading. **NR**

Lifting Up The People

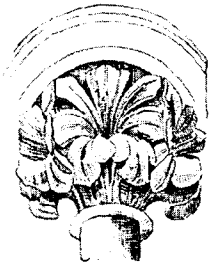


American Dream: Three Women, Ten Kids, and a Nation's Drive to End Welfare, by Jason DeParle (Viking, 422 pp., $25.95)

ROBERT RECTOR

Bill Clinton's promise to "end welfare as we know it" played a decisive role in his 1992 victory. Despite its deliberate vagueness, Clinton's pledge foreshadowed real changes. Jason DeParle's fascinating new book, *American Dream*, chronicles the "end of welfare" from Clinton's campaign slogan through the historic legislation passed by a Republican Congress, and—even more important—offers an insightful examination of poverty and the underclass.

DeParle begins with the following premise: "We live in a country where anyone can make it: yet generation after generation some families don't. To argue about welfare is to argue about why." He attempts to answer this question through an in-depth personal exploration of the lives of the poor—and the result is one of the best books on the American underclass ever written, a compelling account that is disturbing, yet hopeful.



Mr. Rector is senior research fellow in welfare at the Heritage Foundation.

The core of the book is a rich narrative of the lives of three families in inner-city Milwaukee. The author spent years studying these families and came to know them intimately. The families are trapped in webs of dysfunctional behavior stretching back for generations; all are headed by single mothers, two of whom are high-school dropouts. Between them, the three mothers have twelve children out of wedlock. (Two of the children were born after the chief events reported in the book, hence the subtitle.) Fathers are absent; drugs, drug dealing, alcohol, and violence abound. Children avoid school and are drawn to early sex, violence, and the streets. The parents and children are separated from mainstream society by an avalanche of self-destructive behavior that seems almost inescapable.

A major concern of *American Dream* is how these families are affected by welfare reform. DeParle's initial views on reform were cynical. As a reporter covering the welfare beat for the *New York Times* in the early 1990s, he relied on the pessimistic views of elite battalions of liberal experts in academia and think tanks: Welfare recipients could not be expected to work, since no jobs were available; welfare caseloads were immutable; and reforming welfare would cost far more than maintaining the status quo. When the Republican welfare reform was enacted in 1996, liberals uniformly predicted it would throw millions into poverty and leave children "sleeping on grates."

In contrast, a handful of conservative theorists predicted the opposite: If welfare mothers were required to work or prepare for work in exchange for aid, they would leave the rolls in large numbers and take jobs; poverty rates would fall. As welfare reform was implemented, liberal and conservative theories were put to the test. Liberal predictions turned out to be wildly inaccurate. In Wisconsin, welfare caseloads dropped by 90 percent; across the nation, families on welfare fell from 5 million to 2 million. Nationwide, employment of single moms surged and child poverty dropped. In particular, the black child-poverty rate, which had remained frozen for a quarter century under the old, per-

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missive welfare system, quickly plunged from 41 percent down to a historic low of 30 percent.

Conservatives had clearly understood the dynamics of welfare and employment far better than the liberal elites: If welfare recipients were required to earn their benefits, they would not stay on welfare long. DeParle's welfare mothers in Milwaukee exceeded conservative expectations; faced with serious work requirements, they quickly left welfare and found jobs with ease. (Some were already working "off the books.")

But DeParle also finds major shortcomings in conventional accounts of welfare reform's success. The implementation of reform often falls far short of government press releases; his inner-city mothers, though employed, continue to face significant financial difficulties and—worst of all—chaos still rules in their households. Years after reform, their children seem to be glued to the same downward path the parents took long before: They drop out of school, have children out of wedlock, and are drawn toward crime and violence. Reform seems to have done little to disrupt the culture of the underclass.

This should not be a great surprise. Underclass culture is like an old stump with deep, tangled roots, difficult to dislodge. In slums from Chicago to London, the underclass is characterized by six interrelated behaviors: illegitimacy and the disappearance of marriage; limited supervision and control of children; school failure, and the lack of educational self-discipline; eroded work ethic, especially among men; chronic alcohol and drug abuse; and violence and crime. These behaviors roil through the pages of *American Dream*. Given the complexity of these problems, it should be clear that simply increasing women's employment could never be expected to catapult families out of the underclass. Making welfare mothers work may be a necessary precondition to uplifting the underclass, but it is far from sufficient.

Underclass culture is like an old stump with deep, tangled roots, difficult to dislodge.

But to focus on families long trapped within the underclass is to miss much of the reform's success. Among conservatives who worked on the 1996 reform legislation, the paramount goal was to slow the alarming expansion of the underclass—a more realistic short-term objective than trying to rescue families long mired within it. The best predictor of underclass behavior is the share of all births that occur out of wedlock. At the beginning of the War on Poverty in the 1960s, 7 percent of all U.S. births were out of wedlock; by the mid-1990s, this figure had swollen to 32 percent, and was rising rapidly (one percentage point each year). As marriage disappeared from poor communities, other social problems mushroomed.

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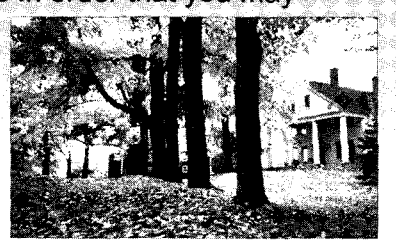
The affinity between the life of the mind and the life of faith is embedded in Augustine's dictum, "crede ut intellegas", "believe in order that you may understand." For Augustine, truth consists in the intelligence's conforming itself to the divine sense of existence. Intelligence consists not, then, in the more or less brilliant performance of the mind, but in knowing reality as it is. To that end, faith and reason conjoined form a strong defense against the temptations of sophistry, triviality, ideology, fragmentation, skepticism, fideism, and anti-intellectualism. Faith, as the acknowledgment of the divine order of things, and reason, as the seeing of reality as it truly is, are partners in the Catholic intellectual tradition.



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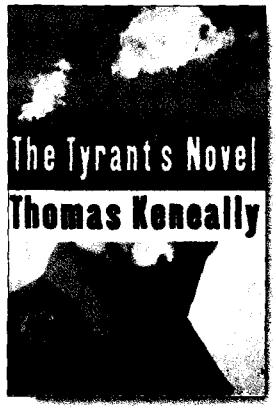
Once welfare reform took effect, however, the 30-year rise in illegitimacy came to a halt—and, contrary to all expectations, the rate has remained flat for nearly a decade. This represents an enormous, unheralded social victory. DeParle acknowledges that this momentous change can be explained only by welfare reform and its message that welfare could no longer be a permanent way of life. Thus, the greatest success of welfare reform has been largely invisible to the press and politicians. This success occurred not among mothers already on welfare, but among the thousands of women who, because of reform, never had a child out of wedlock, never went on welfare, and never started on the long multi-generation tumble into the underclass nightmares so vividly described in *American Dream*.

Even with his tight focus on troubled inner-city families, DeParle is quietly optimistic. Despite the chaos that continues to embroil his protagonists, he holds that welfare reform was an important step forward. He argues that the next step must grapple with the absence of fathers and marriage, which he correctly sees as the arch-problem fueling all others. In this, he concurs with long-held conservative views.

At heart, *American Dream* shows that the problems of the underclass are not economic but moral and behavioral. Liberals, for decades, have studiously ignored the moral dimensions of poverty—which leaves them ill equipped to address the crippling problems presented in this book. Conservatives, on the other hand, have always seen poverty and social problems as emanating from individual behavior. They have long proposed policies targeted specifically at the problems that afflict DeParle's families. These policies include programs to promote healthy marriage, vouchers for poor children to attend religious schools, and public funds for faith-based drug treatment. Each of these ideas is currently mocked by the Left, just as conservative workfare policies were derided in decades past. But these policies, aimed at fundamental moral change, offer the best hope for broken families to find the American dream. **NR**

Mother Of All Deadlines



The Tyrant's Novel, by Thomas Keneally (Nan A. Talese, 235 pp., $25)

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

You have to admire the way Thomas Keneally gets to work. In 1980, he walked into a luggage store in Beverly Hills looking for a briefcase, talked to the owner, a Holocaust survivor, and walked out with the idea for a book. Two years later, his novel *Schindler's List* was published. In 2002, he tells us, he read an extraordinary study of Saddam Hussein by Mark Bowden in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Again, two years later, there's a book. More than 40 books now, and he has said he believes this one to be his best.

Perhaps it is. Keneally is a writer's writer, and he knows what makes other writers tick—what plays to their vanities and what gives them nightmares. And the central conceit of this novel is every writer's ultimate nightmare: the imposition of a literally absolute deadline. Produce, *on time*, or you're dead.

The book opens with a preface set in a refugees' detention camp in a country meant to be Keneally's Australia. An anonymous visitor—a journalist—introduces us to Alan Sheriff (all names in the novel are Anglicized), a writer who has defected from a fictionalized Iraq ruled by President Ian Stark, who prefers to be called Great Uncle of the People. After some preliminaries, Sheriff decides to tell the journalist his story, "the saddest and silliest you would ever hear."

Years before, Sheriff had published a well-received collection of short stories; upon which Random House had given him a $40,000 advance for a novel. The money, stashed in a U.S. bank account, had liberated him from the oversight the government exercised over "the national literary farm." True, harsh reality intruded if he allowed it to. Friends and peers frequently disappeared or defected. A young pool attendant was murdered for getting the pH level wrong in one of Great Uncle's swimming pools. A football coach was executed by the loony, cocaine-ridden Sonny, Great Uncle's son. Because of an unexpected Great Uncle drive-by, a palace architect was forced to work nonstop with a terrified crew to erect a wall in one day, or die.

Someday, says the architect at a social gathering, "you'll get a *real* deadline." It proves true. Sheriff's wife, Sarah, dies suddenly. Sheriff feels his life "in the public sense" is over; in tribute to Sarah, he decides to lay that life to rest by burying with her the printout of the novel he has written, as well as the two disks on which it is stored. A period of heavy drinking follows, then employment with the National Broadcasting Network rewriting subtitles for films. Sheriff mourns, edits, drinks, and contemplates suicide.

And then comes the summons. He is interrupted at work, blindfolded, and bundled off to an unknown location, where he is stripped of his clothes and passport, and ordered to shower, submit to a urine test and a body-cavity search, and put on a sterile suit and a mobcap. He is run through a metal detector, asked to wash his hands thoroughly in permanganate solution, has his hands dried and nails inspected, and is taken into an empty room. There he is joined by Great Uncle, "a darkling fellow from the north. He had profound eyes, a mustache, full lips, the lotion-repaired look of someone who had just shaven. . . . There had been an irregularity in his stride, something to do with his injured back, but it was partially concealed by the vigor of the three steps he took to the desk."

Mr. Coyne, a communications consultant based in Chicago, is a longtime NR contributor, a former White House speechwriter, chief speechwriter for Amoco Corp., and the author of five books.

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There are some flattering comments about Sheriff's stories, then the hook, with strong *Godfather* undertones: "I want you to do me a favor, Alan. . . . In four months the G.S. 7 meet. . . . My plan is to release a book in New York at that time . . . bearing my name, which displays to the world the suffering of my people, and their patriotic inventiveness in the face of sanctions. . . . I want it to be a subtle novel, with heroes and some villains. Write what you yourself have seen, Alan. I'm afraid the deadline is a short one." Because of the time required to bring "this extraordinary literary coup into market," he continues, consulting his desk calendar, "I think we can afford a full calendar month for the task, and this being July 8, you should deliver your book . . . by close of office hours on August 8."

One month. The deadline is set, and Great Uncle seals the deal with his dagger, the first stage in marking Sheriff as an honorary kinsman. "He put the point of the thing deftly under the skin of my wrist, digging at an angle, then flipping the nugget of flesh he had purchase on so that it was doomed to heal in a distinctive nodule of scar. Naturally it hurt. But who was I to scream? In his terms, he was paying me a gesture of intense esteem."

Unfortunately, Sheriff finds himself suffering from writer's block. He veers off on a tangent, writing about his experiences as a soldier in the war against the Others (Iran), when chemical weapons were used. Since Great Uncle doesn't admit to the existence of chemical weapons, this is not acceptable.

Finally, Sheriff gives in to the urging of his friends—all of whom hold high places in government and all of whose heads are at risk—and allows his wife's body to be exhumed so he can retrieve his novel (the book Great Uncle wanted in the first place). He turns it in two days early. Great Uncle receives it enthusiastically, promising Sheriff a villa within a palace: "You will be Shostakovich to my Stalin, Molière to my Sun King. . . . You will be my storyteller laureate." The crazed Sonny adds the final scarring tribal incisions to Sheriff's wrists, and it dawns on the novelist: "I was to be made the emperor's caged canary." With that, he devises a plan for escape.

At the end of his story, the journalist asks Sheriff about the book. "It was published under Great Uncle's name and did medium well, but no one believed he had written it." And finally, in a couple of quick and ironic sentences that will be left for the reader, Sheriff ties up the "silliest and saddest" theme in a way that distinguishes him as a man, and, after a bumpy ride, earns him a measure of respect.

This is a fast, complex, and intelligent novel. Keneally's not an easy man. He is politically and philosophically unclassifiable, a happily married failed priest who often thinks and feels in his novels like a confessor, an Irish Australian who combines at least in prose some of the attributes of those nationalities—combativeness, sentimentality, distrust of authority, distaste for pretence, humor, wit, irony—with the ability to write clear, compressed, sharp, and singing prose. All these elements and more inform this fine, extraordinarily imaginative novel. **NR**

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— Plato
Charmides

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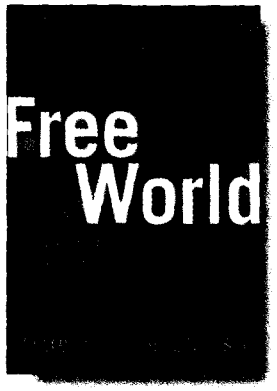

Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West, by Timothy Garton Ash (Random House, 304 pp., $24.95)

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

ANTI-AMERICANISM is galvanizing much of the world. Americans as victims of al-Qaeda evoked sympathy, but Americans fighting back in self-defense are written off as aggressors and unilateralists, to be condemned for disturbing the peace. Some of this animus is long-term, dating back to the Cold War, and deriving from European elites who admired the Soviet Union. And some of it is short-term, a projection of the electoral or personal ambitions of the intellectual and moral pygmies who pass for statesmen in today's Europe, the Chiracs and the Schroeders.

The preeminent international institutions of anti-Americanism are the United Nations and the European Union. Mired deep in corruption and hypocrisy, both of these are doing their utmost to extend their powers, in the latter case engaging in empire-building by all available means. Supporting them both down the years, the United States has effectively laid the rod upon its own back. Where this will finish nobody can yet say, but the omens are poor. What was once "the West" has evidently fractured into divergent and perhaps incompatible parts.

Timothy Garton Ash is a journalist with academic aspirations, having one foot in Oxford University and another in the Hoover Institution at Stanford. He made his name reporting on the breakup of the Soviet bloc, rightly hailing its general recovery of freedom. Neither he nor anyone else appreciated that the gratitude felt by Eastern Europeans for their liberation would be matched in Western Europe by ingratitude. Whether out of envy or resentment or plain impotence, opinion-makers in Europe have tried with considerable success to persuade people that they are in need of liberation from America's presence, its culture, and its power, hard or soft. Like so many in the European elite, Garton Ash spent the 1990s enthusing about the emerging United States of Europe as the next stage in the onward and upward march to freedom. He has therefore contributed his modish mite to the breakup.

Free World marks Garton Ash's discovery that things have not worked out as expected. Nasty surprises come round the corner. The European Union has emerged in its true form as a rival bloc to the U.S., and the contested overthrow of Saddam Hussein is only the latest proof that the political divide between them is based upon conflicting interests. Confident of widespread public approval, a German commentator by the name of Claus Koch can say summarily, "The American empire must be declared the enemy." Garton Ash quotes this jibe in the belief that people like Koch can't mean what they are saying, but are in need of his helping hand.

Progressive intellectual that he is, Garton Ash believes that all human ends can be reconciled. If really and truly we want universal freedom and happy endings, then we can indubitably attain them. Freedom is the banner that he waves, though he is unable to say exactly what he means by it, nor how it is to be achieved and preserved. In what he likes to call the post-West, he concedes, Europeans face a choice between Euro-Gaullism, which is a fancy expression for anti-Americanism, and Euro-Atlanticism, which is a fancy expression for repudiating anti-Americanism. Euro-Gaullism looks bound to win because the EU defines itself as Not-America. Discrediting the nationalism of its component nation-states, the EU is carefully and contrarily fostering its very own nationalistic ideology. Of course Garton Ash wonders whether America might not be much too rich and powerful for its own or anyone else's good, but nonetheless he seems to realize that somebody has to defend freedom, and the EU won't or, more to the point, can't.

Placed by history and culture between the U.S. and Europe, Britain in his view has the key role of bringing the blocs together, thus sparing everyone from making choices. No major differences of interest are at stake, Garton Ash asserts, in spite of evidence to the contrary from the dramatically divergent approaches to the civil wars of former Yugoslavia, to the Iraqi standoff, and to other Middle East dilemmas. The metaphor here is all about bridges. He calls for a Palmerston, a Bismarck, a Churchill, but where such proper statesmen are to be found he does not say; to rub it in, he tells us more than once that half the time leaders don't know what they are doing. Identities and perceptions may diverge between Europe and America, but this should not be troublesome because, after all, they both derive from the Enlightenment, and are intertwined through values, a complexity of ties, and the interests of com-

OUT OF THE ASTRAL AIR

Out of the astral air love visits us,
Seeding the heart, spreading its blessings
Abroad in life and song, like the lotus
Pollen swans transport upon their wings
In coupling, that drifts on to conceive
Pink water lilies on the valley pool.
Bold and curious the woman was
Who could have loved a god (instead of me),
A being free of time and pain and grief.
I think it is an unthinkable miracle
She was not afraid, or blinded by glory,
But chose a weary man whose brow
Is marked by death and sorrow,
Finding him thus somehow more beautiful.

—DANIEL MARK EPSTEIN

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merce. The metaphors suddenly change to being about parents and daughters and uncles and families, all mixable according to context and taste. The argument boils down to a general appeal to sensible behavior.

But what exactly is the EU *for*? That is something else Garton Ash cannot say. The welding together into a single empire of 25 and ultimately some 40 countries with disparate histories, languages, and systems of law is an experiment reflecting the will of ruling elites, not electorates. Everywhere, representative democracy in national parliaments is giving way to oligarchic rule by a self-selecting bureaucracy, and this is not freedom by any definition. For example, about 70 percent of legislation affecting Britain is already passed outside the country in the European capital of Brussels, decided by foreigners and beyond the recourse of British law courts. Electorates are promised material welfare on condition that they agree to the imposition from above of their new identity. This is a gamble that the component European peoples and their respective cultures really are too decadent to put up any fight for the national and individual freedoms that they won for themselves in the past.

In a furtive passage of half a page or so, Garton Ash does allow a shadow to appear over the landscape. Post-West Europe has encouraged Muslim immigration without considering whether people of such a different religion and culture can be integrated, and if so how. Disaffected Muslim immigrants turn to Islamist extremism and terror, and this incites the response of populism—by which Garton Ash means race war and fascism, though he doesn't like to say it in such ugly words. The single most urgent task in Europe is to prevent this downward spiral, but "we may already be too late."

Otherwise the Panglossian optimism of this tract is unstoppable. What for others is crisis for Garton Ash is opportunity, all expressed in the pep-talk tones of the scoutmaster addressing his boys. Briefly he purses his lips over carbon-dioxide emissions, the rise of China to superpower status, demography, and the tyranny of the Arab world. Never mind: Large-scale do-gooding is quite enough to bring about freedom and multiple happy endings throughout the post-West and beyond. America's next war should be the war on want, everyone's future is multilateral, all the neighbors—except, for some unknown reason, poor old Russia—are invited to join the EU, and we have to make the Arabs much richer than they already are so that they leave us alone. It's all up to us: That's the repeated conclusion. The real world, alas, will be giving Garton Ash many more nasty surprises. **NR**

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■ CITY DESK ■

What's the Word?

RICHARD BROOKHISER

I HAD a Russian friend of the Soviet era who was in love with English literature. He read the salutation "How do you do?" in the very literal sense of "How are you doing?" To his enchanted mind, all the grotesques of Dickens greeted each other by asking, "Are you making money?"

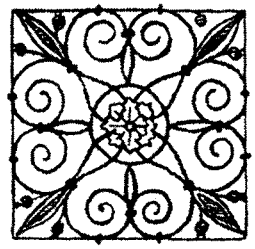
The archetypal salutation of a city is, "What do you know?" City dwellers chose city life, they like to think, because they are smarter than hinterlanders. Living in the city makes them smarter still (whence street-smarts; the country has roads, not streets). Pre-Internet, cities were information-exchange systems. Most obviously on Wall Street, but also in artists' lofts (and bars). Every New York meeting contains the question, spoken or unspoken, "What do you know?"

Conversation is not a peer-reviewed article, so the knowledge that people offer in response to this question serves different purposes, none of them value-neutral. Much of our knowledge is meant to intimidate.

In a coffee house, two young women, college students or holding their first jobs, share a tiny round table. One has a mother who is a photographer, the other has a brother who is a photographer. The mother has taken great pictures of Thailand and Morocco; "she could open a gallery." The brother has also taken great pictures of Thailand and Morocco; there is no mention of a gallery, even a theoretical one, but he also makes movies (excuse me, films). This is sheer boasting, done, as befits the fair sex, in the name of family and art. (N.B.: Everyone now goes to Thailand and Morocco. When I was in college only GIs had been to the former, and no one went to the latter.) There was also a man sitting at the tiny table; as befits his sex, he was silent.

At a cocktail party at a great art institution, a man's voice detaches itself from the hubbub: "I'm talking fixed-asset acquisitions." His subject, in that place, is not surprising. This is a party for donors. When the Medici gathered to view the latest Botticelli, they might have commented on the beauty of it, or of the mistress who was the model for the Virgin. But more likely they talked about silk prices or who had to be killed. What makes the fixed-asset man's bit of knowledge intimidating is his introduction: "I'm talking . . ." I'm talking because I know; you're listening because you don't. The intimidator stands on the dark, windswept plain of ego, striking down all who approach.

At other times, knowledge comes from enthusiasm. A person is so taken with something that the heart, like a spring, keeps sending out fresh trickles of delight. The enthusiast is not interested in scoring points, he is concerned with sharing the wealth. His wealth is not even really his, it is the joy he takes from something outside himself. At a small Middle Eastern food store, with three tables and a take-out counter, two gay men are eating lunch with a girl friend. One man talks about *Vogue* photo shoots he has been on (perhaps he should meet the two young ladies). He talks joylessly; this is pure intimidation. His partner, however, talks about some ritual object, from the crossroads of Buddhism and New Age, which he and his lover got in Nepal. Some spiritual master blessed it; it is very potent to soothe and to heal. Clearly it has brightened his life, and he wants his girl friend to know.



Disconcertingly, the attitude of a speaker tells us nothing about the value of his knowledge. We all like enthusiasm better than intimidation, but the world is full of stupid lovers and smart bullies. The ritual object is quackery with a Himalayan accent; the fixed assets may be pearls of great price. Conceivably, Missy's mother might be a good photographer. Know your interlocutor, sample widely, live long. Knowledge will keep coming at you; better learn to sift it.

There is one subject that we all know authoritatively, which is why we so often speak of it: how we feel. Lots of other people crave this knowledge. We avidly watch TV shows about people whom we not only don't know, but who do not exist. How much more curious are we about our acquaintances. The restaurant owner greets his long-time customers, who compliment his new furnishings. This prompts him to ruminate. He is big-chested and lively; his iron grey hair has a short, youthful cut. His voice sounds like gravel being unloaded from a dump truck. The new booths, and the new TV over the bar, came from a place out of town that he opened with high hopes only months ago, but has now sold. He is also selling two other places he owns in the city. He will keep only this place, which was where he started, in the Johnson administration. He is a passionate motorcyclist, and describes riding downtown before Halloween, eyeballing a line of college kids waiting to get into a costume party at a club. "But I mus'a looked pretty funny myself, in my . . ." He mimes the visor of his crash helmet. He needed it. "I took a spill . . ." How bad, we ask. He gestures vaguely, but says, "Bad, bad." He just turned 65. "That's why I'm selling, will lower my blood pressure." At his back he hears time's winged chariot, which will not spill.

There is one other personal form of knowledge: what we know along with those we love. An Orthodox Jewish mother, well-, albeit conservatively, dressed, walks down the street with her more unusual-seeming son. They stand out, but not grossly. This is no Orthodox neighborhood, but there is a big subway station nearby. The boy, about seven, already has a yarmulke, payess, and pale skin. They hold hands. I cannot eavesdrop on this conversation, because it is conducted in Yiddish. What they know about each other, what they don't know, and what they thought they knew, will preoccupy them for the rest of her life, and for the much longer remainder of his. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

At War With What Or Whom?

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 19

THE word "war" is used for convenience, the motive being to attach the highest order of gravity to a military engagement. It is encouraged on its rhetorical mission by the solemn exercises that often accompany it. These are most notably a formal request by the president of the United States to the United States Congress to declare that a state of war exists. Not many need to be reminded that that constitutional choreography is not wide-ly practiced. We didn't do it in Iraq, Afghanistan, Iraq I, Vietnam, or Korea.

Why then do we tolerate the word? There isn't any way to tame word usage to appropriate and sensible limits, so that we will continue to have "wars" against obesity and acne, but when the same word is used to describe an ongoing military situation we are entitled to ask for its bona fides.

The events of September 11, 2001, were as much a declaration of war as the events of December 7, 1941. And although the Japanese enemy was far more formidable than the forces of Osama bin Laden, the execution of his strike against us was brilliant, inventive, and humiliating.

So it was always clear that we would strike back at Osama. The president sprang into action and declared war on his own authority. In so doing he was spared the obligation of naming geographic or ethnic or religious entities against whom we were warring. Having all but subdued Afghanistan, we moved on to Iraq for reasons that did not bear directly on the transgressions of 9/11. The pilots had been Saudis, for the most part, the financing was done by al-Qaeda, supervised by bin Laden. The administration has urged the public to view Afghanistan and Iraq as a common place, fit for retaliatory war before they get around to launching another 9/11.

We conquered Afghanistan and caught Saddam, but nothing much has happened to lower the intensity of our rhetoric. The only thing that makes this plausible is that a fight rages on in Iraq. Although we conquered Baghdad, we have not quelled the anti-Americans. On top of which, we came to lose sight of what it is that has provoked them to anti-Americanism. Starting in, we took it for granted that that part of the world was an al-Qaeda world inflamed by Islamic radicalism. This helped a bit, because if it was radical Islamism that we were to contend with, that at least gave us a goal post. But the line of sight between our cannon and their goal post was never for one instant clear. There was no equivalent of Hitler's bunker or Tojo's headquarters.

Reporters on the scene tell us that the suicide fighters are motivated not so much to kill one more infidel as to drive one more infidel away from their sacred land. A Muslim of prominence intoned a while ago that he looked forward to a world ruled by an Islamic caliphate. That reminds some of us of Admiral Yamamoto announcing after Pearl Harbor that he looked forward to dictating the terms of the peace in the White House.

We should all be ready to go to war to defend Christian individualism and the separation of church and state, but who-all is pressing this point beyond western endurance? Herbert Agar defined in the late thirties what he called "the anarchic passion to smash." That fever accounts for much that has been going on in the world, the bloodletting in Indonesia and the Philippines, and in Ireland and Libya. We are lucky we didn't swoop down on them as qualified targets for our current war. Israel knows it can count on us if it gets into deep trouble, and Iran poses a problem sui generis, along with North Korea, with which it is related not at all.

Is it that we are, simply, at war with the anarchic passion to smash; here and there; now and in the future; to be quelled, but without gentrifying the engagement into a real war?

We Didn't Tell You So

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 3

THOSE of us in the trade get asked the question (inevitably), "Who do you think is going to win?" Years ago I embarked on the most tedious bout of prolonged honesty by replying, "I don't really know." Inevitably the questioner suspected I was holding something back. I wasn't—except, this time, on the final day. On November 1, I received two communications, privately tendered, that I attached meaning to.

The first originated with a professor of government who, it was bruited, had always succeeded in predicting the outcome of presidential-year elections. The news was given in telegraphic idiom, no curlicues, embellishments, appoggiaturas:

"President: Kerry wins the popular vote 50-49.

"Kerry wins electoral vote 291-247.

"Senate: GOP has net gain of two, for a 53-47 majority.

"House: GOP has net gain of one, for a 230-205 majority."

That bulletin I disclosed to a few of my closest associates.

Bulletin #2 came under extraordinary auspices. A phone call from someone I love just after the woman who bore him. A master of the universe in the political-journalistic world, he had a working guest in house whence he would report on the elections. At 6 o'clock in the evening of Election Day a call came in from his newspaper's equivalent of the CIA Board of Estimate. That communiqué was delivered in a single word: "Kerry."

So the guests filed in and, in my new role as soothsayer, I informed them, in humbled tones, but no less solemn, "It will be Kerry."

Fiat Bush.

Four years from now I will return to my I-don't-know mode, and that time, probably my last venture in coexistence with presidential elections, I will not be bent by any secret communication, from however august a source.

Added to what this columnist doesn't know is: What will President Bush do about the Iraqi mess? He has said that a president must be prepared to make diffi-

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cult decisions and stick to them. But surely one decision he can have arrived at during the political purgation is that things are not going well in Iraq. It is one thing to reiterate during a political campaign that a president must make hard choices and stick to them, quite another to say that a president cannot draw back and recalculate at very basic levels.

There is so very much to think over, and the Democrats have their share of a via dolorosa. How will they do it next time around? Get Bruce Springsteen to sing one more song? Add another million protesters? But what will they have to protest, at this rate?—the democratic system? They can't blame what happened on Tuesday on the electoral vote; can't blame it on the popular vote. That doesn't give them many other choices. Blame the candidate?

There's always that. Two years after Dukakis was hailed as Democratic liberator, I had to ask a companion who was the unprepossessing but faintly familiar figure sitting at the other end of the table. Yes, it was Dukakis, of course. Kerry will be recognized more easily because his face is more distinctive, though if the events of Tuesday make his face more drawn than it now is, Teresa should will the cadaver to the Smithsonian.

The Democratic coroners will take the easiest pass at the expense of Kerry. But they will need to worry about much more. Kerry's personal froideur can't have been the single cause of the upset. It had to be that the venture by the contenders for the middle class vote didn't work. Didn't work why? Because there was a revolt on the part of citizens who earned more than $200,000 per year? Come off it. There were never enough of those to account for 58 million votes for Bush.

The Democrats will need to devise a means of making state socialism a reborn faith. Either that, or just go back to obstructionist tactics in Congress, and a renewed search for the golden boy. Maybe Edwards. He is photogenic and wears his afflatus confidently. Without exactly saying it in so many words, he can remind the gang that, after all, he gave the Democrats a chance to anoint him during the primaries—now look what happened when they merely gave him the #2 spot.

The Democrats' wake will, one hopes, be as fully reported as their vaunted ascendancy was glowed over.

Openhandedness by Bush

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 5

A FRIEND, a born-again Republican, asks just what might President Bush do to live up to his promise to represent all the American people. It is natural, if one has only recently joined the communion of saints, to worry about persistent sinners. What can Mr. Bush do to win their confidence? To make them feel better?

To answer that question requires that we ask: What are the losers especially afraid of?

One needs carefully to segregate those who think of Bush as someone inclined to crack civilization open at the seams. When Goldwater ran for president there were otherwise responsible (or semi-responsible) people who warned that his election would bring nuclear war and perhaps a revival of Nazism ("A Jewish vote for Goldwater is a vote for Jewish suicide"—Joachim Prinz, American Jewish Congress). Since Goldwater wasn't elected, they could shrug off the critics by saying, Well, what *if*?

They couldn't do that with Ronald Reagan, because not only was he elected, he won a renewal for a second term much more decisive, even, than that of George W. Bush. And lo! there was no nuclear war, no pestilence, no starvation. What is it feared that Bush II will do to us?

1) He will pursue, in other parts of the globe than Iraq, regime-change interventions backed by military commitments.

2) He will accelerate the slide into poverty of the working class by new tax laws and such.

3) He will effectively preside over the repeal of *Roe* v. *Wade*.

What might he do to reassure the Democratic party? Gestures have been mentioned, and they are conventional. FDR named Republicans to his cabinet in 1940 as secretaries of war and of the navy. A year later he picked up Wendell Willkie from the floor and sent him on a world tour, in which Willkie discovered one world; he would go on to pronounce the Soviet Union an "effective society."

Would Senator Daschle welcome an appointment? It would not greatly matter to what, if face-saving were the objective. Bush could search out one or two of Kerry's most intimately-connected casualties, and make them ambassadors. But so much for the face-saving. President Bush is not going to name as secretary of state someone identified with the opposition to the Iraq venture.

Where the shooting will happen is in the matter of judicial appointments. In his press conference, Bush renewed his pledge to seek out for the Supreme Court men and women whom he thought faithful to the constitutional role. Someone commented that he should seek out, as a replacement for Chief Justice Rehnquist, an African-American lady from Massachusetts with a vague record of social conservatism. Yes, but if she were less than wholeheartedly a believer in *Roe*, what would be her fate in the Senate?

It seems inconceivable that the Democratic candidate for president should have said that he would not appoint someone to the Supreme Court who had any doubts about the finding of *Roe*. Liberals are not supposed to discourage independent thought. It is inconceivable that a Republican president would say that he would not nominate to the court someone who favored the *Roe* decision.

The Democrats are here needing to confront the reality, which is that Bush won the election and is expected to fulfill his duties in naming fresh members to the court. The Democrats are left only with their parliamentary short-circuit. They can keep a nomination from coming to a vote by marshaling 41 senators against the close of a filibuster.

But if they do this systematically, they are engaged in attempting to steal an election, and nothing Bush can reasonably do to appease the Democrats could then be done, without in effect forfeiting the authority he won on November 2.

Mr. Bush must be openhanded, but he should not be encouraged to ignore his mandate.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"My wife reached the age of consent thirty years ago, but you'd never know it to talk to her."

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

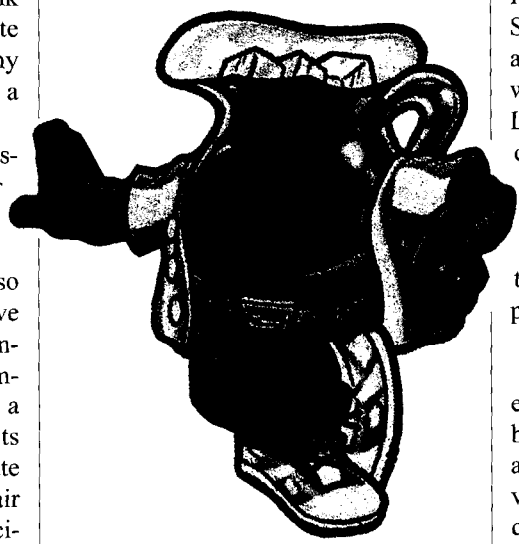
The New Jonestown

THE day after the election, I found myself behind a Vermont granolamobile bearing the sticker BUSH SCARES ME. And stuck in its wake on a winding country road, I found myself more bemused by its message with every passing mile. Even given the general emotional exhibitionism of the Democratic party—"I feel your pain," etc.—it seems very odd to go around advertising one's fear. When I was tootling around the Sunni Triangle last year, I was a little twitchy in the dodgier parts of Fallujah and Tikrit, but I don't think it would have helped matters to paste BAATHISTS SCARE ME to the back of my beat-up rental car. When fear's a bumper sticker, you're probably safe.

So I assumed that Vermont lady wasn't advertising her fear so much as her membership of the club: All decent persons are revolted by Bush.

But a couple of days later I wasn't so sure. A lot of Democrats seem to have succeeded in genuinely terrifying themselves. "Dejected Voters Find Themselves In An Even Bluer State," ran a *Los Angeles Times* headline—in its Health section: "'People are in absolute post-traumatic stress and total despair and pretty much believe American society is permanently destroyed,' says Renana Brooks, a Washington, D.C., clinical psychologist whose practice was flooded with calls on Wednesday morning . . . It looks to me like a worse trauma than 9/11." According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* in its post-Election Day roundup, "Of the eight patients San Francisco psychotherapist Frances Verrinder saw Wednesday, seven were upset and frightened to the point of tears . . . Vicki Cormack found her neighbor on her knees, weeping. Ron Armstrong of San Francisco is waiting for his upstairs tenant to come out of his depression so he can ask him for the rent check . . ."

The next time some Hollywood A-lister claims from behind his entourage, security detail, and perimeter-surveillance cameras that "Bush scares me," he might want to think about the effect on his more impressionable fellow Democrats. Sophisticated liberals aren't meant to be impressionable, of course. That's for us rube-hick-hayseed types warned by our preacherman to follow the Lord Bush or burn in Hell with the fornicators and sodomites and multilateralists. But you can't help noticing that, for all the Jane Smileys, Bill Mahers, and Maureen Dowds scoffing at Jesus-freak Republicans as fearful, superstitious, closed-minded simpletons, it's their side that's carrying on like a millennial suicide cult. Conservatives have long argued



that the strident moral absolutism of modern liberalism is a new religion, but we made the mistake of assuming it was the new Rome rather than the new Jonestown.

Last year, I happened to catch a BBC documentary arguing that the Bush administration was controlled by Christian fundamentalists who believe in the Rapture—the moment when the faithful will ascend in a mass migration to Heaven. But a big chunk of the Democratic party seems to be made up of liberal fundamentalists who dream of ascending in a mass migration to Canada. Good luck to them. If you think Massachusetts is a blue state, you should try the Yukon in February. Scientific rationalists would point out that, though the true believers always talk about their wish to ascend to Canada for an after-Bush afterlife, there's no evidence that any of them actually does so.

On the other hand, they are longing for deliverance from the Bush Terror. In the *New York Times*, Dean E. Murphy explained that Democrats were pinning their hopes on an "act of God." By "act of God," Mr. Murphy didn't mean an earthquake or a hurricane, but something more along the lines of Leon Czolgosz, President McKinley's assassin. As Mr. Murphy explained, "Had McKinley not been killed, Marcus A. Hanna, the political handler who was as instrumental to McKinley's success as Karl Rove has been to Mr. Bush's, would have pursued his dream of 'creating a Republican machine that would go on forever,' Professor Wilentz said." That would be Sean Wilentz of Princeton. "Mr. Rove and Mr. Bush now have a chance to do what Hanna and McKinley never did: Lay the foundation for lasting Republican dominance. 'The Republicans are basically unchecked,' Professor Wilentz said. 'There is no check in the federal government and no check in the world. They have an unfettered playing field.'

"Until the next act of God, that is."

Okay, you sold me, gimme the sticker: BUSH SCARES ME, TOO. He scares me because he came within two points—or, as they say on the cable shows, 136,000 votes in Ohio—of handing over the country to this crowd. Yes, Karl Rove's Hanna-esque strategy has its merits: Incremental gains are often the ones that last. But this was way too incremental. Imagine if those exit polls had been right. I wrote in our last issue that I believe Bush missed an opportunity three years ago. Back in the days of his 80 percent approval ratings, when the embers at Ground Zero were still smoking, the president could have made a big effort to shift the culture of the country away from the stunted emotional narcissism of modern liberalism.

But he didn't.

Fifty-five million people voted for John Kerry. Imagine how things might have gone on November 2 with a likable Democratic candidate. Scary. **NR**

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Relaxation therapy for your feet

Visco-elastic foam has changed the way people sleep, now it helps the way you walk.

by Leigh Ligon

My feet hurt! How many times have you heard *or* said that...standing in line at the grocery store or simply while doing daily routine tasks? I feel like the older I get the more my feet ache. I've tried elevating my feet, soaking them in hot water and expensive massage therapy—but to no avail. That's why I'm so excited to tell you about my recent discovery—CLOUD 10 Slippers!

How did a NASA invention save my feet? From the moment I slipped them on, they molded to the shape of my feet like I had a custom fit pair of slippers made especially for me! The slipper's insole is made from visco-elastic memory foam originally created by NASA. This foam equalizes pressure, reduces stress and tension and provides incredible comfort.

According to the American Podiatric Medical Association, as people age, their feet tend to spread, and lose the fatty pads that cushion the bottom of the feet. Additional weight can affect the bone and ligament structure. These slippers mold to the contours of my feet through my body's heat and weight, literally cushioning every single step I take.

Technologically advanced slippers mold to the contours of your feet making each step feel like your walking on Cloud 10!

Did you know that the average person takes 8,000 to 10,000 steps a day, which adds up to about 115,000 miles over a lifetime? That's enough to go around the circumference of the earth four times. No wonder we all have tired, aching feet.

I've heard about similar kinds of slippers, but I couldn't afford to spend nearly $70 a pair. The Cloud 10 Slippers were a much better fit for my budget. The outer material of these stylish slippers is beautiful tan faux suede and they feature a cozy, fleece-lined interior and collar to provide added warmth. The durable rubber sole is perfect for my quick trips outdoors to grab the morning paper.

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If you have arthritic feet like I do, you suffer from inflammation and pain in your joints. Our feet have to last a lifetime and I've decided to stop neglecting the part of my body that keeps me mobile.

These slippers have a unisex design making them great for both men and women. I wear my Cloud 10 Slippers every chance I get and my feet have never felt so pampered.

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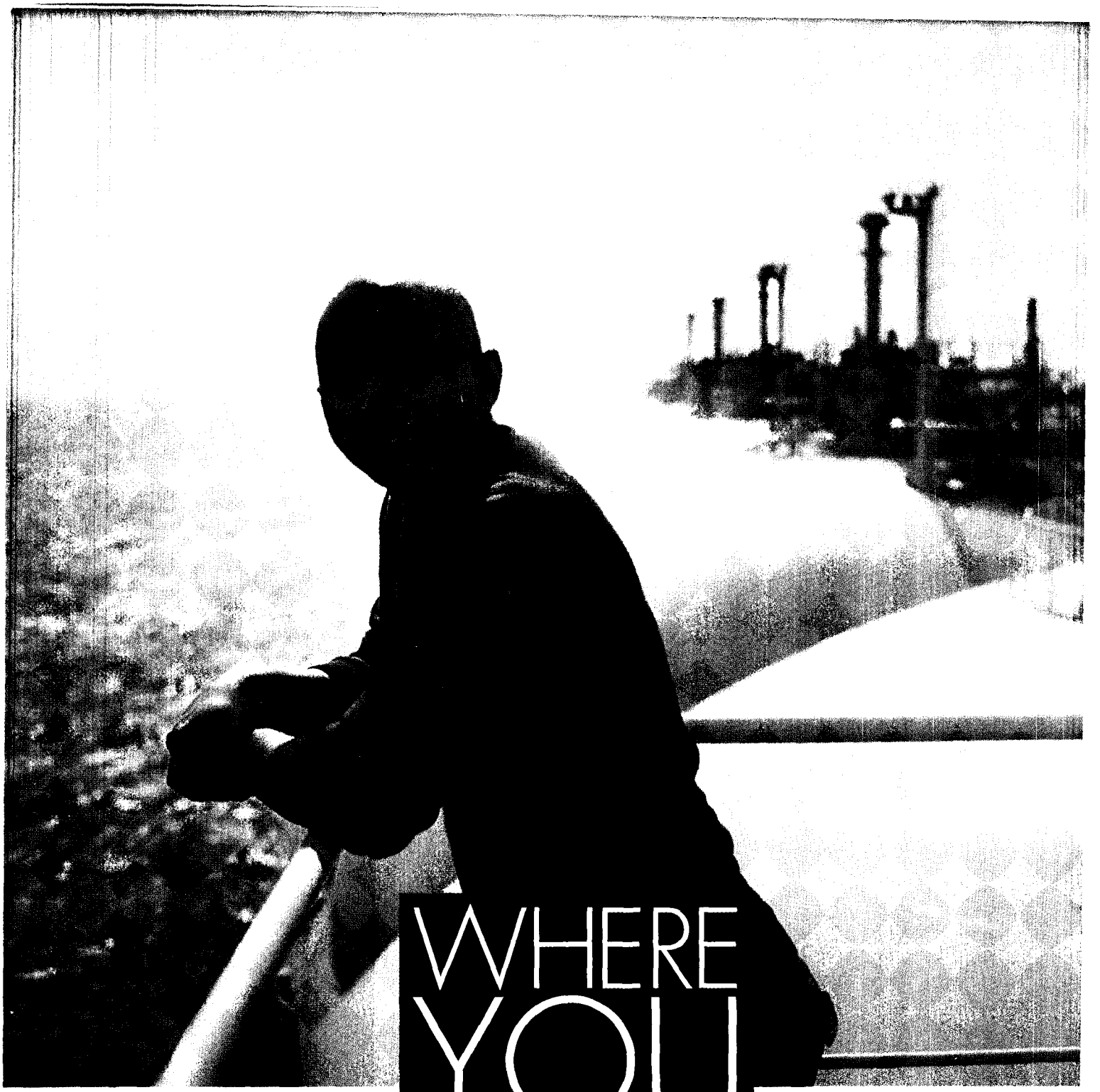

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